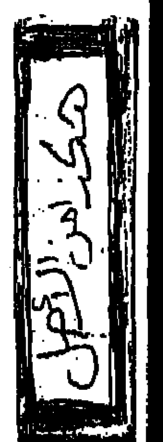





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Atlantic Alliance: a fissure or just a little crack?



The possibility cannot be ruled out that the conflict between Europe and America will lead to a progressive disintegration of the powerful Western Alliance.

Never has the situation been so serious, Konrad Adenauer used to say. It was worried in those days that what now a possibility might happen then.

Some might say that this is all too pessimistic, that it is a view presented for the sake of effect. Disagreements are, after all, nothing new between members of the Alliance.

There is long tradition of economic clashes with the United States, extending from the deep-frozen chicken war and President Nixon's special levy to disputes over uranium supplies, the German nuclear contract with Brazil and President Reagan's embargo policy.

And both sides want to take the sting out of the dispute over European steel exports to the United States.

There was originally talk of both America and Europe serving each other ultimatums. Now the two have agreed instead to hold move negotiations.

But analysis shows that it is not subjective judgments that make conclusions compelling. It is facts that count.

The fact is that the political-economic conflict between the United States and Western Europe is more serious this time than at any time since Nato was established in 1949.

First, there is the depressing economic situation. All industrialised countries are suffering from the worst and longest recession since the Second World War.

Unemployment figures break one record after another. The number of companies that collapse calls to mind the Great Depression. The banks are constantly worried major debtors will relapse. The Euro-market, around which billions revolve, reacts sensitively to even relatively insignificant banks going to the wall, while government debts, both in the West and elsewhere, have reached record proportions.

Even level-headed economists are worried at times that the day of reckoning might not be too far off. It is hardly surprising that some are starting to feel jittery long before they need to feel it.

In such uncertain periods governments tend more than at other time to base their actions on the primitive formula that charity begins at home.

They are even hailed as protagonists of *Realpolitik* for doing so, which enables them to conveniently forget that protectionism rebounds on the country that first resorts to it.

This is an established economic fact, and in economics the same law applies, suitably amended, as governs the advanced technological world. It is the law that the side which shoots first dies second.

Despite protestations of commitment to free trade, protectionism has a long tradition both in the United States and in Europe.

Germany may be only a minor offender at present, but that is no cause for unwarranted pride. As a member of the European Community Germany has more than enough to answer for.

Much though the Common Market countries may protest their commitment to aid economically weaker nations, they have closed their borders to low-price imports from emerging industrialised countries.

Yet at the same time they export farm produce at dumping prices, ruining the export trade of American farmers and others.

Washington has long lodged only verbal objections to the EEC's subsidy policies, doubtless realising that America could not afford to point an accusing finger at anyone on this score.

But the international steel crisis led to a declaration of war on trade policy. US steelmakers, working at only 42 per cent of capacity, were no longer prepared to stomach unfair competition on the American market.

British or French steelmakers were able to sell to the the United States at about a third less than the cost of manufacturing the product because of government subsidies that enabled them to underbid US manufacturers.

The Common Market countries, otherwise so often at loggerheads, have so far closed ranks, albeit more in need than out of true conviction.

Export earnings are not all that is at stake. Much more is involved. The real clash between America and Europe involves not steel but natural gas, pipelines and technology.

In other words, it is less a matter of economic problems than, primarily, of fundamental political views and moral convictions.

In the final analysis it is matter of whether a policy of economic and technological containment of the Soviet Union can be maintained.

Ought we, for that matter, to discipline the Kremlin leaders at least economically for their misdeeds?

The debate on boycott measures and whether they are worth while is usually conducted at an extremely superficial level, and often less than honestly. There are those in this country who are strongly opposed to sanctions against the Soviet Union yet are the first to endorse calls for a boycott of South Africa, a country that in no way threatens our own.

True, even a sustained boycott, always assuming one were possible, could not possibly hope to succeed in bringing about the downfall of the communist system. Yet the Soviet Union is still highly dependent on financial and technical assistance from the West. So Russia is by no means impervious to economic pressure.

No matter how thoroughly the subject is debated, there can be no universally satisfactory answer to the question, whether a boycott is politically beneficial or has an adverse effect.

Some insist that growing affluence in Russia will make the population more insistent on material comforts and the government more compliant.

Others note with alarm that by allowing the Russians generous credit facilities and selling the Soviet Union advanced technology the West is enabling Moscow to carry out the arms built-up in response to which we are having to modernise.

It is indeed hard to justify selling the Soviet Union advanced computer systems that can be used to control long-range missiles with nuclear warheads.

The Americans are particularly uneasy about the Soviet gas pipeline contract with Western Europa because once the gas is piped from Siberia Russia will be earning several billion dollars a year in foreign exchange.

The Russians have to pay in cash, or gold, for US grain shipments.

This is an argument we in Europe have long failed to take seriously, although even *Pravda* has admitted that building a gas pipeline on a barter basis relieves Moscow of the need to redirect budget funds from other projects.

Above all, European governments, especially Bonn, have gravely underestimated President Reagan's determination to stymie this "deal of the century" at all costs.

After years of agonising self-doubt the Americans have fully regained self-esteem and the US government has not seen fit to consult its European allies on the subject.

This is a point that even Franz Josef Strauss, who undeniably shares many of Mr Reagan's fundamental convictions, is most indignant about.

If Washington had only given Europe a serious warning, Bonn might well have decided to dispense with a contract of doubtful economic benefit, especially as it is far from certain to ensure energy supplies.

Economic considerations cannot in the final analysis prevail. Trade with the East Bloc accounts for a mere five per cent of Bonn's foreign trade, so it still plays a subordinate role. We do more trade with Sweden than with the Soviet Union.

Nato is certainly in deep water. Helmut Schmidt has referred to a family affair. Foreign Minister Cheysson of France has referred with Gallic edge to the prospect of divorce.

The two parties, he says, no longer speak the same language. They are increasingly incapable of understanding each other's policy and mistrust between them is on the increase.

Between the two, these difficulties

Continued on page 2



Meeting in Ottawa

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau meet the Press in Ottawa. Chancellor Schmidt visited Canada after talks in the United States. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The component parts of a little nation at war

The newsreel footage and reports of the fighting in Lebanon are often dreadful, and we have no reason to believe the Israelis do not see them in exactly the same way.

But unlike Israel's friends, who live in parts of the world that have come to feel safer, the Israelis cannot afford to allow the horrors of war overwhelm them emotionally.

The state of Israel needs peace more than virtually any other country, and it is so small that all victims count, no matter how few. Yet it has been forced to wage war time and again.

The first began immediately after it was proclaimed a state. Can just wars be waged nowadays? It is no use asking the Israelis. As far as they are concerned the question barely arises.

For them all wars they have had to wage have seemed, from the psychological viewpoint, to be defensive wars forced on them by a hostile environment.

Wise Israelis realise how hard it may be for others to appreciate the fact, so they often no longer even try to convince them. Even friends are not expected to show full understanding.

This tends to reinforce the belief, a belief that seems to have emerged as Israel's state doctrine, that they alone are in a position to judge what the security of Israel necessitates.

They also feel that they alone can maintain Israel's security, and certainly *not a friendly power, let alone an international organisation, all of which have* traditionally failed to appreciate Israel's living conditions.

Israel could not have survived in the past without help from the United States in particular, but hardly anyone in Israel believes that US protection alone is enough to guarantee their security.

The United States is indispensable to Israel because America restrains the Soviet Union, the other superpower, from intervention in the Middle East.

Given the risk of a confrontation between the superpowers the Soviet Union feels obliged to exercise caution and restraint.

But this by no means settles the conflict with the Arabs, certainly not as Israel sees it. Arab extremists feel sure they can rely on the United States being likewise discouraged from risking a confrontation with the Soviet Union.

So here too Israel feels left to its own devices. It feels justified in deciding on its own, and under obligation to do so, what risks it must run for security's sake.

There was a moment of time in Israel's history when hopes of peace grew greater than the conviction that Israelis would need to fight time and again.

It was after President Sadat's peace mission, and the Egyptian leader is now known only to have fought the Yom Kippur War in order to give Egyptians enough self-confidence to feel a peace policy was tolerable.

US commitments by the terms of the Camp David Agreement went further than all previous obligations American had undertaken in connection with peace in the Middle East.

But these hopes were seared by doubts. The isolation Egypt suffered even among so-called moderate Arab states showed the Israelis how hostile their Arab environment continued to be.

Despite US bids to court the Arab states America failed to end this isolation, which showed the Israelis how limited American ways and means were.

After the assassination of President Sadat Egyptian policy was aimed more at reconciliation with the Arab world than at continuation of the Camp David peace process.

This came at a time when Israel had finally believed Egypt might be prepared to share responsibility for a future provisional settlement regarding the West Bank.

Israel saw as negligence the way in which the West impassively allowed Lebanon, a former 'bridgehead' state, bridging East and West, to fall apart.

It looked on regardless as the PLO's military presence undermined the country and made it a plaything of all manner of extremists in the Middle East.

The Arab states also allowed this trend to take its course. In the end they gave Syria a free hand, and Damascus saw in the chaos of Lebanon an opportunity of establishing itself as a source of law and order.

Syria would first step as a policeman and later make dreams of a Greater Syria come true.

If any further example were needed to reinforce Israel's conviction that Israeli security interests were all that counted, this was surely it.

Serious objections can naturally be raised to this line of argument. The security Israel seeks looks at times like total security of a kind that could only be achieved at the cost of total insecurity on the part of everyone else.

Israel at times also seems to overestimate what the Arabs can be expected to stomach.

A contributory factor may well be that the Arabs Israel faces today have been equally unable, after centuries of oppression and humiliations by the Turks, not to mention colonisation, to reestablish their cultural and political identity.

Neither have been fulfilled in the Arab states that currently exist on the map, and this fosters an ominous Israeli fundamentalism that commands not an intellectual but at present a political majority in Israel.

Arab territories occupied in war tend to be regarded with undue matter of factness as part of Greater Israel, the establishment of which is a historic mission.

What Israeli politics today lacks is a counterweight to ensure that limits are drawn to such political objectives.

This aspect must be viewed separately from limited moves, of which Israeli politics is capable. Israel has waited for so long outside the gates of Beirut, as it were, and done so deliberately.

It has run the risk of odium earned by virtue of the effect of the blockade on the civilian population because diplomacy was to be given a chance to bring about a withdrawal of PLO armed forces from Lebanon.

This may have been more than diplomacy was capable of achieving. If so, it will have been partly because other Arab states are likewise afraid of the PLO.

They prefer to see its military units in Lebanon and are anything but keen on the idea of them being stationed on their own soil, where they would always be a source of unrest.

The aims the PLO has so far espoused could not be accomplished without setting the entire Middle East alight.

Yet apart from Egypt no Arab state has seen fit to make a move that, although it might not be in the PLO's interest, would be in that of the Palestinians.

A Palestinian state cannot come into being merely by Israel withdrawing from occupied Arab territories and a new political entity suddenly filling the vacuum.

It would be an entity bearing no international commitments and would merely be a constant threat to all its neighbours.

Not until other Arab states are prepared to recognise Israel's existence and enter into negotiations with it on a peace settlement in the Middle East will there be hopes of progress.

Not until they were prepared to establish a balanced security system comprising Israel and its neighbours could the Palestinians take their place in responsibility, which is essential if there is to be peace in the region.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 1 August 1982)

Continued from page 1

make a solution to the transatlantic conflict even more intractable than the economic problems that beset both sides. We are still friends, but friends that are in the process of being estranged from each other. In Europe people still fail to appreciate how sweeping the change of view has been on the other side of the Atlantic.

Mr Reagan at the White House stands for a kind of American fundamentalism, as it were. In Washington distinctions are drawn once more between good and bad.

One needs to have been in America and to have seen on American TV together with Americans how, in Berlin of all places, stones were thrown at Secretary of State Haig to realise how deeply upset the Americans are about what is going on.

They are steadily less able to understand Europe in general and the Germans in particular.

The divide is deep, both in terminology and in fact. We blame the Americans for having done what we long implored them to do: raise interest rates, fight inflation and strengthen the dollar.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Otto Lambsdorff has in vain warned how much damage we stand to cause by continually making the US President to be some kind of bogyman.

The domestic struggle to retain power requires Bonn to seek scapegoats for the world's economic ills, and things have come to such a pass that Mr Reagan and his men now seen ideally suited to fill the bill.

Nineteen years ago, in June 1963, President Kennedy said at the Paulskirche, in Frankfurt, that the alliance of free peoples "jointly bearing their burdens and using their opportunities" would not remain a mere dream.

Nowadays one may wonder whether his hopes were not too optimistic. But on one point let us be clear. For us all, us Germans in particular, there can only be a rude awakening from this dream.

Diether Stolze
(Die Zeit, 30 July 1982)

Time works against the Israelis

Time, not Mr Arafat, is Israel's e-my in Lebanon. The month and a half it has taken Israel to seal off western Beirut has been long enough for others to have second thoughts about Israel.

The longer the world was unsure whether and when Israel intended to take the final move, the more horrified it grew at the way in which Mr Begin for weeks held hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians afraid for their lives for weeks on end.

In Germany this change of heart has not been so readily apparent. In this country the shock caused by the terrorist raid on the Israeli Olympic team in Munich in 1972 is still effective.

If the PLO were to be destroyed, most Germans feel, it would be no more than fair and in keeping with an orderly conduct of world affairs.

Above all, the German people are still painfully aware of the suffering and death brought on the Jews by Hitler in their name.

This had led to Bonn, and Germans in general, feeling partly responsible for ensuring Israel's security and survival, and it includes Germans who were not even born during the Third Reich yet feel unable to set aside their country's history.

Not for nothing do Germans invariably, in case of doubt, feel that Israel must be in the right.

Elsewhere, however, the issue has made people feel sorry for the Arabs.

Respected Western Europeans who, as Nazi persecution of the Jews grew, tried to rouse opposition to the Third Reich in their respective countries, now refuse to hear about the misdeeds of the PLO.

The only task in the Middle East, they feel, is to end Israel's use of force.

Everything else pales in comparison. The cut-off of water and power supplies to the beleaguered western half of Beirut, the destruction of residential suburbs, striking terror in people's hearts by mock attacks, and the expulsion of Palestinians from southern Lebanon have diverted disgust from the PLO and transferred it to Israel.

This change of opinion is apparent among the Israeli public and in the United States, and since Israel can only wage war with cash, arms and political backing from America, anti-American sentiment is likely to be fostered elsewhere.

The ruins Mr Begin will leave are by no means limited to Muslim Beirut.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 31 July 1982)

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HOME AFFAIRS

CSU holds back from the brink of a Bonn assault

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The CSU is constantly calling for a change of government in Bonn. But it seems curiously reluctant to do anything that might bring about a change of it.

Only a few weeks ago the party was on the verge of going into power with the CDU. That makes the reticence all the more surprising.

On the surface, the inactivity is because no one knows whether the party chairman, Franz Josef Strauss, is prepared to lead the Bavarians to Bonn when the time comes. That time may be after the Hesse election, where the CDU will challenge the SPD incumbents.

Even those who know Strauss well don't know what his thoughts are.

What will weigh more when it comes to the crunch? His disenchantment with the petty bickering in state politics or his reluctance to take on the most unpleasant post in federal politics by becoming finance minister in Bonn (a foregone conclusion in case of a coalition with the FDP)?

Since Strauss has really never been the determined warrior of German politics many of his admirers like to see him, there is a possibility that he would prefer to keep the comfortable job of Bavarian Prime Minister instead of making the effort to make the change in Bonn.

Strauss' reluctance could also explain the CSU's provocative disinclination (even more so than in the CDU) to go into coalition with the FDP.

Yet at the beginning of this year things looked different. Then, Strauss even went so far as to guarantee to the FDP that it could retain its present four cabinet portfolios in a cabinet headed by the CDU/CSU. He saw no problem in pursuing a joint policy.

The situation is reversed now, despite the almost embarrassing concessions FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher has been prepared to make to the CSU — concessions which even include the personnel policy at the Foreign Office.

Today, when CSU Secretary-General Stoiber speaks of the possibility of a coalition with the FDP he never tires of stressing that he has a hard time imagining a man like Interior Minister Gerhart Baum (FDP) in a cabinet that includes CSU ministers.

Stoiber lists a number of specific issues where FDP and CSU positions are irreconcilable. These range from the "marriage breakdown" principle in divorce law via internal security all the way to asylum policy.

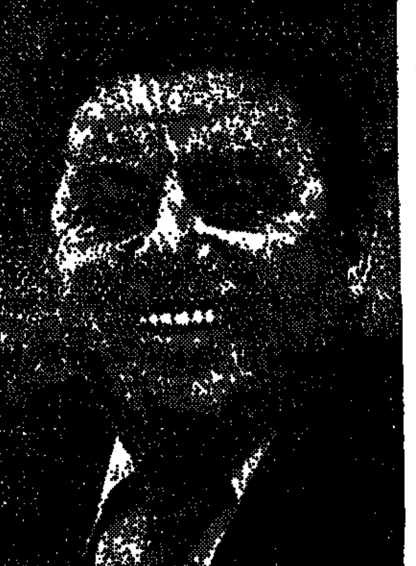
All of these are issues on which the FDP has so far pegged its image and where it would have to continue its liberal stance if it is to survive a coalition with the conservatives.

What has actually happened? There is much to indicate that the CSU, which was always flexible on specific issues, is now trying to scare off the liberals by raising obstacles one by one.

A contributing factor here is that the FDP has never been particularly popular with the CSU grassroots and that, as Stoiber puts it, "the FDP price-tag has gone down in the past few months."

But the decisive factor is probably the dwindling interest of the CSU in sharing the power. It wants to regain not only with the CDU but with the FDP as well.

In two years at the latest, the conservatives will in any event be back in power. And when that happens Strauss can become foreign minister and deputy chancellor, without having to face a challenge from Genscher.



Franz Josef Strauss ... what will he do? (Photo: Hans Windeck)

In such a cabinet there would also be plenty of good posts for CSU talent. After all, these people have not waited all this time only to get second best in the end.

The idea of waiting is plausible, especially since it would lead straight from Sonthofen to Bonn: the present coalition government will be forced to continue dismantling the social net for another two years and will thus only hurt itself.

At election time, the voters will be so disgruntled with the SPD that the conservatives will emerge as the glowing winners who will be firmly installed and not easily supplanted again.

When that happens it will have paid off for the CSU to have been loyal to the CDU's Helmut Kohl, the man who, as Stoiber puts it, is bound to Strauss by a staunch and "manly friendship."

Strauss made it clear before — and credibly — that he does not care who is chancellor. But naturally, it is easier for the deputy chancellor not to have a political powerback at the head of the cabinet.

Herbert Riehl-Heyse
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 July 1982)

SPD ponders where to go to to lick its wounds

The SPD speaks of the need of self-renewal. But there are differences of views about whether renewal stands a better chance in the opposition or in government.

A democratic system clearly points to the opposition benches for victims of wear and tear.

Leading SPD people who speak of renewal while in government disregard the lessons of experience.

The reason for their wishful thinking is their fear of the imponderables that are bound to make themselves felt once the party is no longer in power.

There is the uncertainty as to where this renewal can lead to once it is no longer controlled and steered from above.

Politicians like to keep risks calculable — and that includes personal risks. As a result they shirk the shift to a no-man's-land between power and impotence.

And the leading Social Democrats today are still plagued by the memories of the early days of the post-war republic and the tough time they had to spend on the opposition benches before coming to power.

The difficulties of today's opposition are also a deterrent. With this in view, the SPD feels duty-bound to stick it out in government.

The conservatives have been forced in the past months to work simultaneously towards two dissimilar goals.

SPD and FDP having managed to capture a sound majority in the last national election (1980), the conservatives had no choice but to patiently prepare for the next national election in 1984.

So CDU Secretary-General Heiner Geissler began preparing discussions on specific issues that would make his party even more attractive. He did not shirk controversial issues.

But then the weakness of the coalition government provided the opposition with a chance of taking the helm even before the next general election.

So much of the programme the opposition had planned until 1984 was made subordinate to this bid for power during the present legislative period.

When you have to do all in your power to win the next election you naturally try to convince the public.

But a party preparing to take on the task of governing cannot help operating in secret on many issues, be it a government programme or preparing a list of cabinet posts.

In addition, there is a natural drive to avoid all internal party controversies in order not to jeopardise the chances of forming a government.

The picture that presents itself is therefore of necessity ambiguous: some find it too colourless and lacking in contours while others admire the discipline with which the conservatives are trying to weather the long waiting period during which there is little they can do to bring about a change of government.

Yet they cannot afford to appear inactive if they are to win the next election.

There are, however, occasional signs of nervousness among the top men of the CDU/CSU — those who feel that they stand a chance of being nominated as chancellorship candidate.

Peter Hopen
(Bremer Nachrichten, 21 July 1982)

Greens surging, FDP sliding, say the polls

Bremer Nachrichten

The Green Alternative List is now more popular than the Free Democrats nation-wide, according to opinion polls.

If a general election were held now, the Greens would get about seven or eight per cent of the vote, say the polls.

The FDP, which won 10.6 per cent in the 1980 general election, would now pick up only slightly more than five per cent.

The popularity of the FDP chairman, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, is down from 1.7 to 1.1 on a scale going up to five.

What hurts the FDP even more is that while the party headquarters were trying to keep the poll results secret, the findings were released in America by government spokesman Klaus Bölling, who is a member of the SPD.

This gives some idea of the current atmosphere in the Bonn coalition.

The Free Democrats should not be surprised. After all, their coalition partner and the chancellor had an old account to settle: during the April SPD Party Congress in Munich the FDP played the same kind of game in Bonn.

There can be no doubt that this poor poll performance is due to the party's see-sawing and its disjointed attitude during the budget discussions.

*It is probably also due to the long-*awaited but never completed switch to the CDU nationally.

There are state elections next month in Hesse, where the FDP has already indicated that it will throw in its lot with the CDU. A good performance here would boost its stocks.

But this is not likely to happen, say the polls. The chances are that the party will not even win the five per cent of the vote necessary to get representation in the Assembly.

Party strategists are now trying to figure how to tell the electorate what they really want without tearing the party apart.

This tricky task will be no easier in the Hesse election campaign than it was during the coalition crisis in Bonn

What Hans-Dietrich Genscher wants to drive home to the public without actually saying so is the necessity of a "Hesse model" on a national plane.

This says that political stability in Germany is best served when the conservatives and the FDP have a broad enough majority to form a bastion against the possible Socialist-Green experiments.

This presupposes that the conservatives do not get an absolute majority and must depend on the FDP.

Referring to the Hesse SPD, Liberal floor leader Wolfgang Mischnick says: "Anybody who today believes that he can engage in confidence-inspiring politics with class-struggle slogans, coalition experiments with the Greens and public censure of his own Chancellor is making himself unsuitable as a coalition partner."

This formula can easily be applied on a national scale.

Hans Jörg Sottorf
(Handelsblatt, 28 July 1982)

■ THE WELFARE STATE

Non claimants keep down cost of payouts



Germany spends DM13 billion on social security payments. Many think the figure would be far less if the system were not abused.

But a survey shows that only half the people eligible actually claim benefits. This means that the nation is spending a lot less than if everyone entitled to a benefit claimed.

The report was carried out by the Institute for Social Research and Social Policy, Cologne, for the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry.

The biggest chunk of welfare payments is accounted for by "living assistance" which, under the provisions of the Act, includes "food, shelter, clothing, personal hygiene, household goods, heating and personal everyday needs."

Rent is paid in full by the Welfare Department if it is reasonable and in proportion.

There are standard rates for "simple survival" which vary according to the number and age of persons making up a household.

The standard survival rate for the head of the household is about DM300; 80 per cent of this is paid for every other person over the age of 22. Then comes a sliding scale and children under the age of 7 are entitled to 45 per cent (of DM300).

There are also supplementary payments for special requirements, amounting to 30 per cent of the standard rate. This applies when there is a pregnant woman in the household or a person over the age of 65.

A further supplementary payment of 20 per cent of the total is added to the benefits.

For example: a household consisting of a couple and two children under seven would receive DM1,080 per month (including all supplementary payments) plus their rent.

This is known as the threshold amount in social welfare parlance.

If the family income falls short of this amount the social security makes up the difference.

DM1,080 is not exactly plush for a four-person household considering that this amount has to cover food, heating, baths, clothing, furnishings and satisfy "the personal needs of day-to-day life," like going to a cinema.

The above example is well chosen because the study shows that two of the most important groups of eligible welfare recipients are elderly women and families with children.

Compared with the population average, large households are particularly frequently among those eligible but not drawing benefits.

The pattern of earnings

1980: 100 households in each category

Monthly* earnings	Self-employed	Employed	Pensioners
over 7000 DM	45	3	0
5000 – 7000	32	10	
4000 – 5000	15	13	3
3000 – 4000	7	22	11
2000 – 3000	1	28	21
1000 – 2000	0	23	45
under 1000 DM	0	1	19

*all income for all members of the household

Source: DIW

There are three times as many families with three or more children under the age of 15 in this group than the national average.

Most of those eligible for welfare payments live in small towns with a population of up to 5,000, predominantly in Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Bavaria.

Some 60 per cent of them say that they had no vocational training.

The number of working people among those who are eligible for benefits without claiming them is much higher than among those who actually draw welfare.

The study came up with some surprising reasons as to why people who are entitled to benefits, don't claim them.

All of those eligible know about social security and most had a good idea of who qualifies. But many were unaware that they were actually entitled and that they would not have to repay the money.

A common reason for not applying is pride or embarrassment — especially among the elderly.

Fear of neighbours

They "don't want a handout from the state" because they consider this charity. They do not want to be equated with beggars.

There is also the fear that the neighbours might find out.

Many people also hesitate to disclose their own poverty for fear that relatives could be asked to support them.

In many cases, the very fact of not getting welfare is the last bastion of personal pride.

Many of those who are eligible consider welfare recipients on the lowest rung of the social scale.

The states and municipalities of the Federal Republic of Germany pay out DM13 billion a year, as much as Bonn has set aside for research and development aid combined in 1983.

Still, remembering the tug-of-war over next year's budget and the restriction of new borrowing to DM28. 5 billion, it is easy to visualise the size of the problems that would arise if all those entitled to social security actually claimed it.

Gisela Reiners

(Die Welt, 28 July 1982)



■ MIGRANTS

Returning home where the money goes

It is a widely held misconception th... foreign workers who return home ... tually use their money to benefit econo... mically weak regions.

This is what a survey commissioned by the Volkswagen Foundation ha... found. Since 1973 more than 100,00... Greeks have gone back. Most of thos... from rural areas go back to their hom... villages.

They spend their money on hous... and consumer and prestige goods, sa... the survey, by Professor Lienau o... Münster University.

The dream of new prosperity fizzle... as soon as the savings have been use... up and there is no money for further in... vestments and if there is no job in the... neighbourhood.

Bielefeld sociologists interviewed 5... Greeks in Athens, Salonika and Serre... All had returned from Germany. Th... findings were similar.

Unlike with the decision to emigra... economic considerations did not pl... the main role in the decision to retu... home.

Most of those interviewed returned t... Greece because the children were th... and they were worried about their voc... tional training.

The skills acquired in Germany fre... quently were inadequate or could n... be used due to lack of work.

It was therefore not surprising th... many of the respondents said the... would like to return to Germany. Bu... the freeze on the hiring of foreign wo... kers imposed in 1973 prevented this.

Though Greece is now an EEC coun... try, it will not enjoy freedom of wo... and residence in the other Commun... nations until after a transition peri... that ends in 1988.

What about the possibility of becom... ing re-integrated in their home region... This is the next topic of a joint study ... Professor Lienau and Professor La... goupulos of Salonika University, ... Greece.

Based on Thrace in north-east... Greece, the two researchers will exa... ne the interplay of industrialisation, t... regional labour market and producti... investments by returnees. This proje... will also be financed by the Volkswag... Foundation.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 22 July 1982)

PEOPLE

Lahnstein, the new man from the ministry

Bonn. Finance Minister Manfred Lahnstein emerged all smiles from ... session of the SPD parliamentary par-...

As soon as he spotted a TV camera ...ed at him and a reporter preparing ... question him, he switched from re-...ation to complete concentration.

...illingly and precisely he answered ...tions with the brevity needed for ...iews transmission and without the ... Bonn attempt to say what is not ...uired.

He arrived for his first press conference with financial correspondents after being appointed Finance Minister ...porting the king-sized cigar that is his ...allmark.

Without hesitation be outlined com...plex issues slowly but in sentences that ...could be sent straight to the press.

When one journalist addressed him ...s Herr *Minister* he grinned disarming...ly, boyishly, and said with a note of ...ppiness: "It still comes as a shock ...whenever anyone calls me that."

As state secretary in charge of the Chancellor's Office the job Helmut Schmidt gave him was to check and channel the findings of the backroom ...boys.

When an expert waffled for too long ...he jovially but inexorably said: "Thank you. That will be all." And let ...the next man say his piece.

...He listened to what ideas staff at ...the Chancellor's Office had in the pipe-...line he clearly showed interest in, and ...relayed to the Chancellor, the more ...short-term considerations.

At times the experts who sought to ...deal with social policy perspectives felt ...most frustrated.

These, then, are three aspects of Manfred Lahnstein, Bonn Finance Minister since the end of April. They con...vey a slight idea why, at 44, he has ...rocketed from a fairly ordinary civil ser-...vice career to a linchpin political ap-...pointment.

He is accustomed to taking decisions ...and announcing them while others are ...still thinking it over. Pati-...ence, he readily admits, is not his strong ...point.

He doesn't beat around the bush. He ...is a tough negotiator, but not a churlish ...one. He is fond of asides and hides be-...hind Rhenish bonhomie his ability to ...put his elbows to good use.

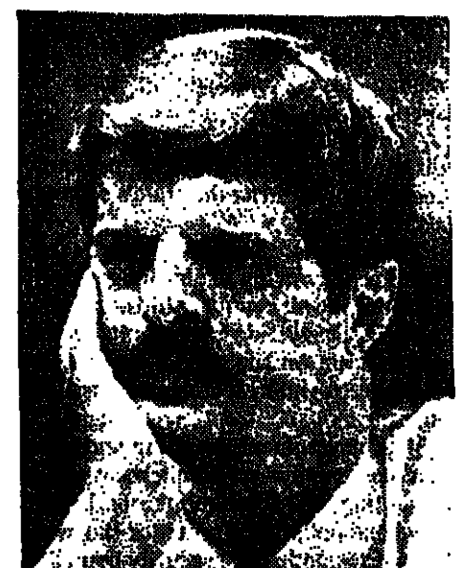
He either is or makes himself out to ...be a professional optimist, even at a ...time when Finance Ministers have more ...holes to plug than they have financial ...resources.

Problems, he feels, are there to be ...solved, thereby proving he is the right ...man for the job.

Herr Lahnstein seems to have learnt ...early that politics is partly the art of ...pushing oneself in public without appear-...ing too pushing.

In less than 100 days at the helm he ...succeeded, by a combination of un-...excitement and matter-of-fact mastery ...of his subject, in conveying the impres-...sion that the Finance Ministry is just his ...office.

He is extremely self-assured and his ...self-assurance has in no way been upset ...by being one of a number of politicians ...against whom there have been allega-tions of handling illegal party-political donations.



Manfred Lahnstein ... precise with words. (Photo: Sven Simon)

He certainly does not look as though he is perturbed in any way.

Yet no-one could say be was predestined for the job. All that can be said is that he has been quick to come up from the ranks.

As a student he earned money playing the trombone in Düsseldorf bars alongside Klaus Doldinger, one of the country's leading jazz musicians.

But he was quick to sense that music would not take him to the top. "I wasn't going to end up as fourth trombone with Paul Kuhn," he now says.

He has always felt he was not cut out to play second fiddle to anyone, either literally or figuratively.

He has progressed in his career largely independently of the Social Democrats, although he has been an SPD member since 1959.

There was no jubilation in SPD ranks when it was learnt that Chancellor Schmidt planned to appoint him suc-

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The lady co-pilot at the Foreign Office

Hildegurd Hamm-Brücher, 61, is unspoilt, cordial and still a very good-looking woman. She has also for years been a leading politician, which makes her an even rarer bird.

As Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office she likes to refer to herself as Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher's co-pilot.

She travels widely, representing him all over the world. She is also responsible for cultural diplomacy, which is, she says, hard work and very important.

So she is hard at work in a sphere where the men are usually very much on their own, right at the top in diplomacy and statesmanship.

And it is not just a temporary assignment; she has held the job for nearly six years. It has been a unique performance bringing about changes in foreign affairs.

"But I reckon it will catch on," she says. "A woman at the Foreign Office does many things differently, I won't say better, than a man."

She won't say so, but she sounds very much as though she thinks women are more than a match for men.

Frau Hamm-Brücher has throughout her political career persistently ignored prejudice against women. A woman in politics, she says, has to walk a tightrope between conformism and resistance.

"But if I had always said to myself: 'You have a harder time of it as a woman,' I should long since have thrown in the towel."

This is an attitude that has clearly stood her in good stead. After graduating in chemistry she stood for Munich city council as a Free Democrat in 1948 and was elected, aged 27.

Hildegard Hamm-Brücher ... unspoilt, cordial. (Photo: Marianne van der Lancken)

Two years later she was elected to the Bavarian state assembly. She moved to Bonn in 1969 as state secretary at the Education and Science Ministry.

She hit the headlines three years later with a spectacular success at the polls in Bavarian state assembly elections.

But in 1976 she finally was elected to the Bonn Bundestag and appointed Minister of State at the Foreign Office.

Her career is not all Hildegard Hamm-Brücher has to show for herself. She is married and has two children, now grown up. "They were no trouble," she says.

At the Foreign Office she had even more work than before to do, but by then her son had left home and her daughter was about to take university entrance exams.

Why was she chosen for the job? "The crucial factor," she feels, "was obviously that Herr Genscher had confidence in me. Besides, he wanted to give a woman the opportunity."

She was quick to take it up and has made much of the job. Her latest move has been a policy draft on cultural cooperation with the Third World.

Since last January she has been entrusted with a special task, the promotion of German-American relations "below government level."

Herr brief is to intensify contacts and programmes between politicians, journalists, young people, teachers, organisations and all manner of groups on both sides of the Atlantic.

She feels she must foster cooperation with all manner of organisations and agencies, provide assistance of various kinds and above all to encourage people to do more.

She travels round the United States, an enormous country as she puts it, about once every two months to take appropriate on-the-spot action.

Her special brief is the result of occasional anti-American sentiment among young people that might, she says, grow dangerous.

"Some think the United States wants to rush us into a nuclear war," she explains, "while some Americans feel we are now hand in glove with the Russians."

Prejudice and cliches of this kind must be set aside, she says. The easiest way is for young people to gain their own idea of what life is like in the other country.

Alexa Thiesmeyer

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 24 July 1982)

Tackling problems without ideological bias

Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski, Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office, is most often dubbed a multi-purpose weapon or a crisis manager.

These epithets are some of the many intended to mean that he is versatile.

A Social Democrat and trade unionist, Herr Wischnewski, 60, had held a wide range of appointments in his political career over the past 30-odd years.

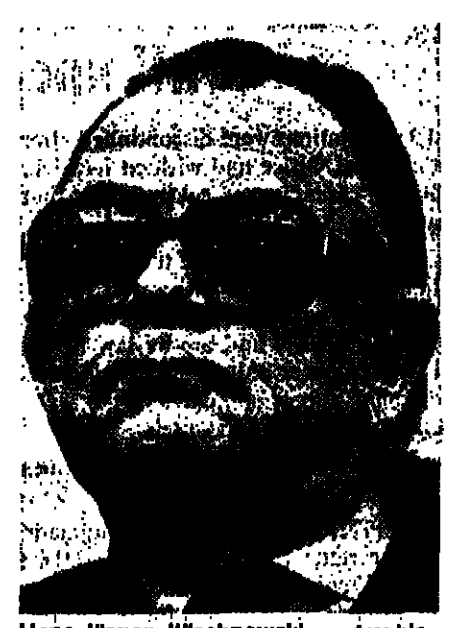
He was born in East Prussia but has represented a Cologne constituency in the Bonn Bundestag since 1957. He first made a name for himself as leader of the Young Socialists from 1959 to 1961.

He openly supported the Algerian nationalists, the FLN, which in those days was a slap in the face for newfound friend France.

This laid the groundwork for close ties with the Arab world, ties that earned him the nickname Ben Wisch in Bonn.

He went on to prove first and foremost an advocate of the pragmatic approach. His ability to tackle problems without an ideological bias soon, together with his enormous capacity for hard work, made him indispensable.

From 1966 to 1969 he served as Development Aid Minister in the Grand Coalition. Then, when Willy Brandt led the SPD into coalition with the FDP, he was the Social Democrats' business manager.



Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski ... troubleshooter. (Photo: Sven Simon)

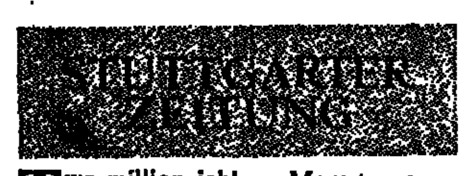
He went on to serve as deputy leader of the SPD in the Bundestag and Minister of State at the Chancellor's Office from 1976 to 1979, a job he took on again after the April 1982 Cabinet reshuffle.

This is by far his most important job. He was, and continues to be, the confidant Helmut Schmidt needs in this linchpin position, and the Chancellor

Continued on page 6

■ FINANCE

Pay and jobs: there is no patent recipe



Two million jobless. More to come. People cry out for action.

Those born in the high birthrate years are crowding the labour market. The state is doing nothing. There is now a mood of disillusion among economic policy makers after all those years in which everything seemed possible, including growth rates of three and even five per cent.

Few faced the possibility that there might come a time when growth could no longer be engineered. On the contrary. What they feared was that growth would engulf out planet, eat up our resources and contaminate the water we drink and the air we breathe.

Now, we cannot even engineer two per cent growth although there is no shortage of resources.

So what is the problem? There are those who say that we are sated and that everybody has everything he needs.

But is this true? And if it is, why has unemployment hit even poor countries? After all, Britain and Italy still needed to catch up.

Why is it that in this country branches of business like the catering industry now complain about lack of customers? They say people can still afford to eat out.

But others argue that there is no money for that because of low wage deals.

Yet people save for a rainy day instead of spending, while the state is anything but thrifty, as shown by its high share of the GNP and its heavy borrowing.

It has become doubtful whether a state that spends heavily can actually get the economy off the ground.

Government programmes of the past few years have shown that not every deutschemark invested by the state pays off. Many investments bring no benefits at all. They only impose a heavy permanent burden on public sector budgets due to follow-up costs.

There are those who say that if nothing else helps we must shorten the working hours. If 20 million people work one hour less a week there would be jobs for half a million.

But this is pure arithmetic and has nothing to do with economics.

If the shorter working time is not to result in a smaller pay packet, production costs for the employers, many of whom are already on the verge of bankruptcy, will rise still further.

And if the rate of pay is to remain the same and the packet becomes smaller, it also won't work because expensive capital goods like machinery would not be fully used.

There are no patent recipes because the recession is world-wide and what can individual countries do?

To make matters worse, the world has been pervaded by an economic pessimism. Consumers and the business community buy and invest as little as they possibly can. And the state's and the social security system's inability to counteract this pessimism only increase.

The past few years have shown that our social security system is geared to a three per cent growth rate. Unless this rate is achieved, the public sector has to jump into the breach by borrowing, raising taxes and cutting back on spending.

The psychological consequences are disastrous because growing personnel costs further restrict the state's scope of action.

This means that the public sector debt keeps growing to alarming proportions despite all economy bids.

By its heavy borrowing and by putting a strain on the capital market, the state keeps interest rates excessively high.

High government spending and taxation also hamper economic recovery by promoting a grey labour market in which moonlighting provides the work (free of tax and social security contributions) that the public cannot otherwise afford.

This secondary economy that appears in no statistics has become a severe obstacle to general growth.

All this makes it obvious that we must continue to oppose growing government and social security spending.

If we succeed in making it clear now that public sector budgets must be balanced it will not matter if we have to borrow another billion or two for investments in 1982 or 1983 (provided this does not only cause additional costs).

The main thing is optimism. And it is doubtful whether the SPD-FDP government in its present condition, can encourage optimism.

A new government would probably have it easier, but it would be wrong to believe that a change of government is all that is needed.

A new government would have a small edge, a starting capital so to speak. But then it would have to come up with decisive measures to stem state consumption.

There has so far been nothing to indicate that CDU and CSU are capable of this.

Thomas Löffelholz

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 26 July 1982)

More investment needed, says OECD

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is alarmed over the medium-… prospects for German unemployment.

It says in its annual economic re… on Germany that unemployment i… structural rather than an econo… problem.

Even if industrial production capa… ty were fully used, only some of … jobless would find work.

Unemployment is bound to rise, be… cause production is not increasing … enough to offer hope for the many … seekers from the heavy birth-rate ye… who will soon be looking for jobs.

OECD says Germany should go … growth and boost investment to try … create jobs.

It expects unemployment, which w… 5.3 per cent in the second half of la… year, to reach 6.5 per cent this year … 7.25 per cent in the second half of ne… year. Public funds should be more … used. This would help keep tax do… The trend away from indirect … should be reversed.

Assuming wage increases of four … five per cent, gross household income would rise five per cent in 1982 and … per cent in 1983. Net incomes would … up 4.5 and 4.75 per cent respectively (because of income tax progression and … social security contributions).

The OECD sees improved investment prospects. Business profits have be… rising since mid-1981 and production capacity use stopped declining from th… first quarter of 1981 while interest rates also fell slightly.

Without specifically referring to the OECD report, Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff told a… FDP meeting in Munich that the future could produce a shortage of labour ra… ther than a glut because of the lo… birth-rate years.

Job creation measures like reduction of the retirement age and shorter … weeks should therefore not be irreversi… ble.

(Handelsblatt, 16 July 1982)

Cartel office successes not all spectacular

The Federal Cartel Office, guardian of free competition, is no price controller.

Its work is marked by ups and downs, successes and failures, because it frequently lacks legal backing or is unable to come up with evidence.

Even so, the German anti-trust Act that was published in the Federal Gazette 25 years ago (on 27 July 1957) has acted as a deterrent against undesirable business practices.

The Act, which has been amended and stiffened four times, gives this country the most sweeping anti-trust legislation in Europe.

The fact that the Berlin-based office has had failures in preventing price fixing (as has been brought home to the consumer with the series of price increases for oil-based fuels) in no way detracts from its effectiveness.

The problem here is the lack of comparative markets that could serve as a yardstick for allegedly excessive prices and the difficulty in verifying the actual costs of the multinational oil giants.

There is also the difficulty of reconciling two aims: safeguarding supplies and ensuring low prices.

But the anti-trust controls are not restricted to price fixing. They also include unjustifiable bonus systems or the obstruction by the giants of small and medium-sized companies.

From the establishment of the Cartel Office up until to the end of April this year, 5,238 charges of abuse were filed; 1,331 violations were discontinued after the Cartel Office had wielded its stick. In 239 cases, it was court rulings that achieved the same effect.

Another major area of the Berlin authority's work deals with cartel formations that have to be approved by the Berlin authority and are by law in exceptional cases only. This can include discount, terms, standards, types, specialisation and export cartels.

Members of illegal cartels face fines and loss of illegal profits.

In 1972, the members of a man-made fibre cartel were fined some DM41m; in 1975, some 300 construction companies were fined DM36m for tender fixing; in 1979, the TV magazine publishers Springer, Bauer and Burda were fined DM26.6m for price and discount fixing. But this fine was reviewed by Berlin's highest court, which considerably reduced the fines on Springer and Bauer.

The merger control, which was made part of anti-trust legislation in 1976 and stiffened by an amendment in 1980, has been unable to prevent the number of mergers from rising but it has acted as a brake.

Apart from pure rescue mergers (Karstadt/Neckermann) and mergers authorised by the Economic Affairs Ministry (VEBA/Gelsenberg and BP/Gelsenberg) the Cartel Office has succeeded in stopping such mammoth marriages as DUB/Schultheiss, Thyssen/Rheinstahl and Mannesmann/Demag.

Though the advance of mammoth companies on the traditional market of medium-sized firms has not been stopped, it has been slowed down.

From 1973 to 30 June this year, 4,506 mergers were reported. The office issued 48 restraining decrees, but not all of them stood up in court.

Eighty-four merger plans were stopped in preliminary talks with the authority. This proves that the effectiveness of anti-trust legislation and the Cartel Office is not shown just by spectacular restraining orders.

Cartel Office defeats in court are due to the fact that anti-trust legislation is still relatively new and still has to be fully tested. It is not the clear-cut, but the controversial cases that wind up in court.

Gerhard Zehfuss

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 27 July 1982)

Continued from page 5

needs someone whose loyalty and ener… gy he can rely on.

Whenever trouble arose, Wischnew… ski was always around to do someth… about it. His most spectacular role w… in connection with the Lufthansa jet hi… jacked to Mogadishu in 1977.

He flew to Somalia with a spe… squad of the German security force… negotiated with the terrorists and repor… ted to the Chancellor the news that the aircraft had been successfully storme… on the runway.

"Mission accomplished," he told the Chancellor. In the hijack affair H… Wischnewski showed such aplomb th… he was definitely saddled with the repu… tation of being a crisis manager.

But he has not always been able … solve the crises and problems wi… which he has been entrusted.

As deputy leader of the SPD he d… not have much success. He was una… to bridge the ideological differen… between the wings of the party.

Management in a strictly outli… context remains his strong point, wh… is probably why the Chancellor as… him to return to his old job at the Ch… cellor's Office.

Arnd Bäucker

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 24 July 1982)

THE TRADE UNIONS

Workers 'reach breaking point' over budget

A clash is threatening between the SPD in Bonn and the trade unions. The unions say the 1983 budget is unfair.

Despite protestations from Labour Minister Heinz Westphal, most unions affiliated to the DGB say that it is the workers, pensioners and the jobless who are bearing the brunt of what is an austerity budget.

Eugen Loderer, the head of IG Metall, the metalworkers union, is leading the DGB offensive.

He says about the budget: "This latest bit of dismantling of the social security net has strained the patience of the workers to breaking point."

Two hundred and fifty IG Metall officials meet in Frankfurt next month to discuss what to do. A march on Bonn is not ruled out, says the union head office.

But first, Loderer wants union officials to take the message to MPs in the constituencies: there will be trouble for them if the relevant Bundestag committees don't look again at the budget decisions.

All of this is upsetting Bonn Social Democrats. They feel they are being treated ungratefully. And they are becoming stubborn.

They feel that middle echelon union leaders are attacking the coalition to extricate themselves from the damage of the Neue Heimat affair.

DGB officials in the SPD Bundestag party, Ernst Haar (railway workers) Hermann Rappe (chemical workers) and Adolf Schmidt (miners) have become scapegoats. They were quick to congratulate the Chancellor on the budget compromise — or at least did nothing to warn him of the consequences of austerity provisions such as patient participation in hospital costs and pension cutbacks for the jobless.

The DGB now fears for its image with the grass roots and its authority should it again stop at mere declarations and exercise statesmanlike restraint.

The unions are now more concerned with defending the interests of the working class than with their traditional bedfellow, the SPD. They also don't want to be drawn into the Social Democratic decline and are therefore making a bid to distance themselves from the party.

They point to the fact that the working class is responding to the Bonn debacle even without the trade unions. Moreover, the outcome of the latest state elections has amply demonstrated that members do not ask their unions what to do before turning their backs on the SPD.

By now, the DGB is unconcerned even by the threat of a CDU/CSU government. Ernst Breit, the new DGB chairman, is totally self-assured on this.

"The limits of what we as trade unions can or cannot do are defined by our members and no-one else."

He says that the trade unions did not help develop our social state "only to see it bit by bit at the very moment of crisis when this social security network must prove itself."

CDU/CSU Bundestag members have already joined forces with the rebels at local branch meetings of the metalworkers union, saying that trade unionists are sick and tired of being bludgeoned with the argument: Would you like a Franz Josef Strauss in government?

Following a discussion between State Minister Wischnewski, DGB Chairman Breit and the metalworkers' Herr Loderer, even Chancellor Schmidt now fears that this autumn's Bundestag budget debates could shake him and his government.

His party brass shudders at the idea of having the trade unions march against SPD policy. The historic axis between the two is going through its worst post-war strain — and in the midst of the longest and most severe economic crisis.

But the extent of the breach will be decided in September. The pro-government legions within the DGB (and especially in the construction workers, chemical workers and miners, along with the now leaderless public sector workers) are strong.

They curtail the scope of action of DGB chairman Breit; and it is for this reason that he had to water down his criticism in a radio interview when he said that "while it is true that the social net will be preserved, the cutbacks are nevertheless gradually touching upon its substance."

Loderer, on the other hand, is under heavy pressure from his grass roots whose disenchantment and anger have been only temporarily distracted by the World soccer Cup and the holiday season. As a result, the DGB's trial of strength is still to come.

The breach with the coalition has not yet happened but it is a distinct possibility — especially if the reactions of those who sit in the Bonn glass house (as it is derisively called by the IG Metall headquarters) do not show more flexibility and understanding.

The trade unions keep using the last two rounds of collective bargaining as proof of their sense of reality, evidenced by the fact that the wage increases do not even offset inflation.

They regard themselves as the guardians of the welfare state as provided for in Article 20 of the Constitution.

In Ernst Breit's interpretation, the article stipulates that the weakest and neediest must be given the greatest possible consideration. As he sees it, the Bonn draft budget is a clear violation of this.

A job-creation programme with booster shots costing billions, with labour market levies that would include the civil service and a surtax for the higher income brackets that has been demanded time and again stands no chance in the present coalition.

The Social Democrats in the Bonn government are so downtrodden by now that they do not even have the strength to rally trade union solidarity in a bid to make the liberals more pliable.

The DGB drive for shorter working times as a means of reducing unemployment has met with stiff employer resistance. Here, the unions are still waiting for the aid they were promised by former Labour Minister Herbert Ehrenberg.

The capital accumulation drive announced by the Chancellor has meanwhile dwindled to a draft bill of Lower Saxony's CDU government — a bill that the DGB rejects.

The trade unions' scope of action is very narrow indeed if they want to stick to their principles and retain credibility with their members.

This is even more painful in a crisis in which the unions are more than ever called upon to fulfil their protective function for a labour force worried about their jobs.

It is obviously also an act of self-preservation that the protest potential against a further dismantling of the social net is growing.

And there are ever louder voices warning the trade unions that they could lose support of their members by supporting a government whose policy was not for the benefit of working people.

Frank Bünte

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 18 July 1982)

Continued from page 5

cessor to Hans Matthöfer at the Finance Ministry.

There were objections and cross-fire aimed mainly at mobilising trade union opposition to him. Trade union views on economic and financial policy undeniably differ from those Herr Lahnstein holds.

But solidarity with a former trade union man proved stronger. There were no protests from the Düsseldorf headquarters of the trade union movement.

From the start he has got on splendidly with the Free Democrats, junior partners in the Bonn coalition. When he outlined to the FDP parliamentary party his proposed economies this summer the Free Democrats gave him a reception as though he were one of their own.

That he has so much in common with the Liberals is due to his basic outlook. He is an ex-student of Günter Schmölders, the Cologne economist, and was trained as a fiscalist.

This is a school that feels the key feature of government financial policy must be a clear and early budget that is balanced.

Budget debts are taboo. So is heavy short-term spending as persistently advocated by trade unionists and some Social Democrats and a generous, open-handed social policy.

For those who knew his background the 1983 budget draft he consistently advocated as being as solid as a rock was a belated tribute to Professor Schmölders.

But there have been many changes since he was a student and Dr Schmölders was his don. By rights Herr Lahnstein ought to abhor the idea of a budget deficit in excess of DM25bn, as envisaged in the 1983 budget.

But economists and the public have grown used to the idea of running up debts. Nowadays only the level of debt is the point at issue.

On social policy Lahnstein, much to the delight of Chancellor Schmidt and the FDP, remains on the conservative side. So problems with the SPD are a foregone conclusion.

Still, as he says: "If I were to be forced to my knees over every little problem I ought not to have taken the job on in the first place."

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 25 July 1982)

Federation in the big business league

WESTDEUTSCHE ALLGEMEINE

The German trade union federation (DGB) is also a huge business: it is the 14th largest in the Federal Republic.

According to the latest report of the Monopolies Commission, DGB companies employed 64,000 people in 1980. Liquid assets were about DM2.5 billion.

This means that the DGB group is comparable to Krupp GmbH, Mannesmann AG, Bosch GmbH and IBM (Germany), says the commission in its fourth annual report.

It is significant that the group is expanding heavily. From 1976 to 1980, its companies raised their payroll by 18,000 (9 per cent a year) to 64,000 while employment in the rest of the country's industry rose at an annual rate of only one per cent.

The commission conclude that the unions neither particularly promoted mergers nor did they do anything to check them.

It writes: "Their attitude has been comparable to private business — they have essentially successfully tried to remain competitive through internal and external growth."

Union-owned companies, the commission says, could however gain an edge over private competitors by their direct access to political bodies that award public sector contracts: "The Neue Heimat housing and construction company, whose business activities in the past were concentrated on SPD-dominated regions, is particularly likely to have benefited from this."

The commission says that, due to the close ties between Neue Heimat and political decision makers, this company is likely to hold a preferential position in competition though it is difficult to substantiate this.

The DGB's contribution to mergers, the experts say, lies primarily in the fact that mot of its enterprises are controlled by the *Beteiligungsgesellschaft für Gemeinwirtschaft* (BGAG), a holding company with a streamlined management.

Major market shares are held in the life insurance sector (*Volksfürsorge*, 7 per cent), building societies (*Beamtenheimstättenwerk*, 20 per cent), housing and housing modernisation (*Neue Heimat*, 7 per cent) and in the food retail business (co op AG, 7 per cent).

But no market dominance has been achieved in any of these sectors.

The commission also concludes that mergers of market-dominating companies have declined since mid-1980. The Economic Affairs Ministry leaves it open whether this must be seen as a change of trend in the merger process.

Should the trend continue, however, it would serve as proof of the effectiveness of improved anti-trust instruments even on the periphery of merger controls.

The Bonn government will report on the report to the Bundestag and the Bundesrat.

Hartmut Geyer

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 16 July 1982)

■ REFUGEES

Doors begin to close in the faces of the boat people

Refugees from Indo-China are having more and more trouble finding countries to settle in.

Western countries have sharply cut their intake or in some cases stopped it altogether.

One South-East Asian country after another has taken steps to stem the influx.

Humanitarian moves are also finding less and less support, as shown by the recall of the West German mercy ship *Cap Anamur* from the South China Sea and by Hong Kong's new refugee policy.

The search and rescue missions of the *Cap Anamur* always were controversial. The ship's presence will definitely have encouraged many Vietnamese to seek refuge as boat people.

A number of them will have been taken on board without compelling reason or imperative necessity. The operation was expensive, arguably too expensive.

But over three years the *Cap Anamur* rescued nearly 10,000 people, and that alone counts. Many would not otherwise have survived; most would have fallen foul of Thai pirates.

Last year three out of four refugee boats were raided once or more by pirates; 1,100 people are known to have been killed, 1,600 women to have been raped.

The number of cases that have not come to light is unquestionably much higher. In 1981 there are known to have been 73,000 boat people; a further 30,000 or so seem likely to have died in their bid to escape.

The ship has returned to Hamburg with 285 refugees, its last, on board. The German authorities are no longer prepared to guarantee asylum to the 4,000 or so refugees it could pick up per year.

Without a guarantee of safe passage to another country no ship with Vietnamese refugees on board is allowed to berth in South-East Asian ports any longer.

Hong Kong has since July interned boat people on an isolated island. They are there to stay until another country declares itself ready to accept them. That could take years.

This is how Hong Kong is trying to discourage potential refugees from making the bid. It was previously the most attractive target for them.

More than half the Vietnamese boat people have been able to work freely and earn money immediately. The news spread like wildfire in Vietnam, with the result that refugees were arriving at a rate of about 1,000 a month.

Hong Kong is overpopulated in any case. It cannot handle such an influx. Besides, refugees now tend to be a different category of people.

In 1975 and 1977 the boat people represented a mass escape bid by military men and officials. In 1978 and 1979 they were followed mainly by the Chinese minority.

But now most refugees are Vietnamese, and they are hard to integrate in Hong Kong, which is a Chinese city.

Vietnam's catastrophic economic situation is usually what has prompted them to leave. About 4,000 people a month try to make their getaway on the flimsiest of craft, and since May their number has tended to increase again.

Thailand, much like Hong Kong, has long sought to discourage refugees by imprisoning them, and the practice has proved successful.

The number of boat people heading for Thailand has declined perceptibly, due in part, no doubt, to the pirates and to the Thai practice of towing boats that have landed back out to sea.

That is why Thailand has been overwhelmed mainly by refugees arriving by land: 5,630 from Vietnam, 92,217 from Cambodia and 87,789 from Laos.

Malaysia and Indonesia are also wondering whether to use force to ... boat people out or to intern them ... they arrive. They are already housed ... strictly segregated camps.

Last year the United States accep... 120,000 Indo-Chinese refugees. T... year their quota has been nearly hal... Fifty per cent fewer are being let in ... Canada.

Australia is only accepting them ... exceptional cases, while Britain and ... Federal Republic of Germany ar... longer accepting any.

Last year France agreed to give a ... home to 1,500 Vietnamese refugees ... month. It has now reduced the quota ... 1,000. Unemployment, the recess... and growing xenophobia are the ... sons why.

Since 1975 roughly a million Indo-Chinese refugees have been accepted ... the West.

In refugee camps around South-... Asia 220,320 still await permission ... leave. Their numbers are swelled by ... veral thousand newcomers a month.

Gabriele Venzky

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 26 July 19...)

New man at the head of the German Red Cross

Botho Sayn-Wittgenstein-Hohenstein, the new president of German Red Cross, is not impressed by titles or high office.

He is a prince and a man of independent means, which has given him sufficient self-assurance to do what he feels right, even in the face of resistance.

He has taken over at the helm of the Red Cross from Walter Bargatzky, who headed the organisation for 15 years.

The Red Cross is so large and its activities are so varied that it often runs the risk of becoming as bureaucratic as a government department.

This runs counter to the original character of an organisation based on the voluntary support of hundreds of thousands of people. The Prince of Wittgenstein would like to do something about this state of affairs.

He was born in 1927 in Eisenach, Thuringia. He claims his mother gave him his first idea of what the Red Cross stood for.

She worked as a Red Cross assistant nurse for decades, arranging counselling for mothers and meetings of old people. In 1945 the family moved to Lassphe, Westphalia, which is Wittgenstein country.

There he finished school, worked as a male nurse, studied medicine and practised for several years as a doctor.

In 1956 he took part in a German expedition to India on botanical and zoological research.

Then he underwent training in forestry and took over the running of Sussmannshausen forestry department for the family. He is now chairman of a company that runs the family's forestry interests.

He entered politics in the late 50s, starting as burgomaster of Laasphe. In 1965 he was directly elected to the Bundestag, to which he belonged, as a CDU member, until 1980.

In Bonn he dealt mainly with health, on which he was his party's parliamentary spokesman. He was also a member of the finance committee, in which Opposition members retain a certain amount of influence.

MPs today, he says, are little more than officials of the government, the administration or, at best, their parliamentary party leadership.

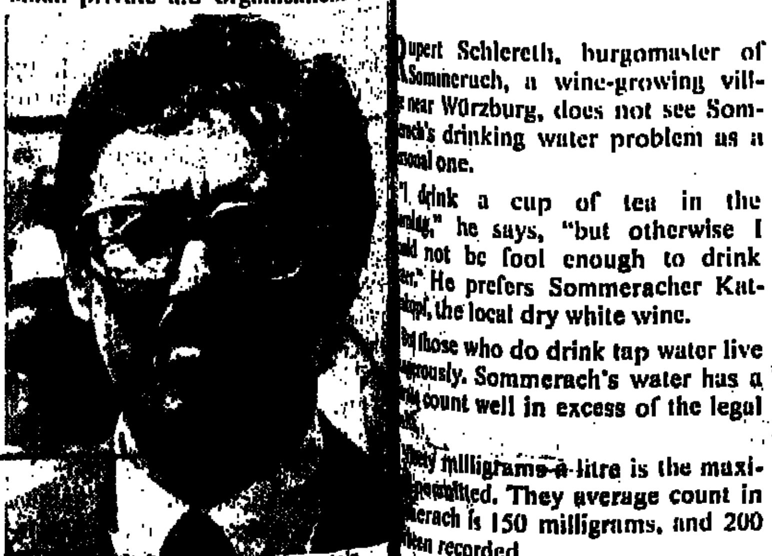
Opportunities of influencing deci... sions are strictly limited, although he ... recalls individual instances with pleasu... re. Besides, there is always the pressure ... of circumstances.

This assessment also applies to the ... short initial period in which he sat ... the government benches and was ... merely a member of the Opposition.

He served on a pharmaceuticals sub-committee, which he chaired, and the ... sub-committee on humanitarian aid.

His wide range of activities will be ... sure to affect his work at the Red Cross. He aims to make it clear that the many ... volunteer aides are what makes up the ... Red Cross, not the administration that ... supervises their work.

He will also be keen to ensure the ... small private aid organisations do not ...



The Prince of Wittgenstein (Photo: ...)

come to be regarded as competitors ... the Red Cross, which must work along... side them and lend them every assist... ance. A case in point, he says, is the pa... of doctors who set up the mercy ship *Cap Anamur* and raised the cash ... staff and run it.

The Red Cross, he feels, must ... work for peace both by helping peo... and by advocating a ban on weapons ... that will destroy both military and ... lian targets.

This is an aim embraced for years ... Dr Bargatzky, his predecessor.

Günter Bann...

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zei... für Deutschland, 14 July 19...)

THE ENVIRONMENT

Banned pesticide blamed for thousands of birds deaths

Frankfurter Allgemeine

...onn has banned the pesticide Endrin. This means Germany has ... caught up with other EEC coun... where it was banned years ago.

... only Common Market country ... it is still used is Holland: by ... berry farmers to keep mites a bay.

Endrin, a chlorinated hydrocarbon, ... been used in orchards to combat ... les, but last spring its use in the Lake ... stance area killed an enormous ... ber of birds.

The bodies of birds of prey in parti... lar, such as buzzards, were found to ... tain an Endrin count much higher ... n a fatal dose in many cases.

So there could be little doubt that the ... ticide was to blame for the deaths. ... veral thousand songbirds and birds ... of prey are thought to have been poiso... ned.

Environmentalists talked in terms of ... Silent Spring on Lake Constance.

Chemical treatment of weeds and ... ts is more than widespread in farm... ing; it is the rule. Chemicals are used to ... combat animal and vegetable enemies ... that might affect the crop yield.

Chemicals are not cheap, but farm ... hands are even more expensive, and ... impossible to come by. Besides, single-... crop farming is ecologically unstable ... and prone to pests.

Weeding and pest control by hand ... much too laborious, so farmers, ... to rely on a good crop, for the most ... part have no choice but to spray.

Yet moles can be kept at bay without using Endrin, as has been shown by fruit-growers in countries where it is banned.

Poisoned bait will prevent a plague of mice too. There is no need to pollute one acre after another.

Pesticides invariably kill organisms other than those they are aimed at, so when they are licensed it is assumed that farmers will use them in strict accordance with the instructions.

The Lake Constance mishap shows this is not always the case.

Pesticides containing Endrin have been used to combat moles for 30 years or so. Endrin is much more effective than DDT, to which it is chemically related.

A few thousandths of a gram are enough to kill a rat or a rabbit. As a nerve poison it can also be dangerous to humans.

Restrictions imposed on its agricultural use were correspondingly tough. Areas sprayed had to be fenced in so as to ensure wild animals were kept out.

Grass from orchards sprayed was not to be fed to cows for six months after spraying. Growing vegetables was banned for two years, potatoes and root vegetables for three.

But traces of Endrin found in milk and strawberries show that farmers have not taken these regulations seriously. Strawberries are frequently grown in orchards as a sub-crop and can come into contact with the toxin.

Cases of animals dying of Endrin poisoning have been noted since the 50s in Baden-Württemberg, where it was used with root crops too.

Wild animals died, with the result that its use was restricted to orchards surrounded by safe fences. Birds were also found dead, but Endrin was not definitely identified as the cause of death.

In those days methods of chemical and forensic analysis were not as advanced as they now are. Besides, the traces of Endrin now found were mere thousandths of a gram per kilogram of body weight.

The bird deaths this spring may have been due to fruit-growers not spraying until spring because winter came early last year. Normally they spray in autumn.

They, the farmers, may also have used too much Endrin because there were signs that the mole population might reach plague proportions.

Farmers may also have been prompted to spray more than necessary by a mistaken belief that they could thereby ensure higher crop yields.

But not only the farmers are to blame. Highly toxic substances such as Endrin ought not to be used in agriculture in the first place.

The problem is that no-one can be sure they will be used strictly in accordance with instructions. The Federal Biological Office in Brunswick gave Endrin the go-ahead as a pesticide for decades.

It was well aware of the danger and ought arguably to have weighed up the pros and cons with due consideration for the possibility of abuse.

Endrin may now have been banned in Germany but the ban leaves a stale taste in the mouth, and not only where this one drug is concerned.

What is banned in the industrialised countries is often still sold at handsome profit to the Third World. Yet the likelihood of such substances being used strictly in accordance with instructions in the developing countries is even more remote than in this country.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 July 1982)

Endrin gets the blame (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

Bottled spring water brought in to quench a town's thirst

DIE WELT

...upert Schlereth, burgomaster of Sommerach, a wine-growing vill... near Würzburg, does not see Som... ach's drinking water problem as a ... onal one.

"I drink a cup of tea in the ... ning," he says, "but otherwise I ... ld not be fool enough to drink ... er." He prefers Sommeracher Kat... zenkopf, the local dry white wine.

But those who do drink tap water live ... erously. Sommerach's water has a ... rate count well in excess of the legal ...

... milligrams a litre is the maxi... permitted. They average count in ... merach is 150 milligrams, and 200 ... been recorded.

This is a level that is not necessarily ... gerous for adults, but children have ... known to fall ill, especially babies, ... though none yet have done so.

Herr Schlereth has nonetheless been ... ted by the authorities in Kitzin... to provide Sommerach with a sup... of pure drinking water.

"We had the choice between a tanker ... bottled spring water," he says. He ... for two-litre plastic bottles of still ... water.

They are stored at the *Rathaus*, or ... hall, and supplies are distributed ... ly. They cost Sommerach DM1,600 ... month, which cannot be too heavy a ... on an annual budget of ... DM3m.

The nitrate count in the village's drinking water is a result of the amount of artificial fertiliser used in its vineyards overlooking the River Main.

Sommerach's Silvaner and Müller-Thurgau wines are held in high repute, and growers have used large amounts of fertiliser over the years to boost yields.

They chose to ignore warnings, and the nitrate count in the local water has been higher than the permitted level for years.

The nitrate the vines were unable to assimilate seeped downhill and into the ground water by the banks of the river.

Wine-growers felt the more fertiliser they used the better it must be. They failed to appreciate that plants, as Munich botanist Professor Jürke Grau puts it, "are often smarter than human beings.

"They assimilate from the fertiliser only the amount of nitrogen they need to flourish. They rest leave to its own devices."

Professor Grau feels the debate on artificial fertiliser is exaggerated. Chemically it is exactly the same as natural fertiliser, but too much is too much.

Environmentalists are keen on natural dung, but it contains germs (or can do so) and could be much more dangerous than artificial fertiliser.

"The only problem with what are called artificial fertilisers is quantity," he explains. "Farmers must learn only to spread as much as the plants can absorb. It is both cheaper and more satisfactory from the environmental point of view."

Würzburg's Oberbürgermeister is worried it may be a while before farmers see the light. He crossed swords with the farming lobby in the Bavarian Senate.

Farmers, he complained, could order poison in unlimited quantities from the nearest agricultural supplier, with the result that 20 local authorities in Lower Franconia already had too much nitrate in tap water.

If this is true, farmers and wine-growers in the Würzburg area must be given poor grades for elementary economics. They are using far too much artificial fertiliser, which is an expensive commodity.

The Bavarian Interior Ministry in Munich sounds a more reassuring note, saying only 0.1 per cent of tap water in the state has too high a nitrate count.

In nearly three cases out of four the nitrate count is below 25 milligrams, or well below the danger level. So the question of toxins in drinking water hardly arises in Bavaria.

Bürgerspital, a well-known Würzburg vineyard, has nonetheless taken a step in the direction of pollution control. It is now spreading only 50kg, not 100kg, of mineral fertiliser per hectare.

The vine are left to meet their remaining fertiliser needs from a natural fertiliser consisting of bark, wood shavings, yeast, grape skins and husks and the wood of old vines.

The nitrate count in ground water has declined and the vines continue to grow well, it is claimed.

But Sommerach will probably have to pipe in tap water. Negotiations are soon to begin. Wine-drinkers can rest assured, however. The wine is pure.

Würzburg wine contains no nitrate. It would need to be adulterated with local water to do so, and even then the danger level would only be reached once the wine contained 50 per cent water.

Peter Schmalz

(Die Welt, 29 July 1982)

AEROSPACE

The moon may be future larder for Earth

It did not take long before the American Apollo moon missions, which began in 1969, were forgotten.

Were these missions worthwhile? Planetologists say they were, and they say more unmanned missions to the Moon must follow.

The Moon could in the foreseeable future emerge as a major supplier of commodities for an Earth which is exhausting its natural resources.

By the turn of the century the Moon could well be put to meaningful economic use as a repository of metalworks, power stations and launching pads for new varieties of missile.

America and Russia will clearly be involved, but Europe too is keen not to miss the boat. The European Space Agency, Esa, plans to be up there with all comers.

The centre of planetology in the Federal Republic of Germany is at Münster University in Westphalia, which has a department of mineralogy, petrography and mineral ore deposits.

At Münster, Professor Dieter Stoeffler is in charge of a project backed by the Scientific Research Association (DFG) and entitled The Earth-Moon System as a Model of Binary Planetary Systems.

The epithet binary makes it clear that the Moon, which is unusually large as moons go, is not just a satellite but a partner of our Earth, a joint sister-planet smaller in size.

The relationship between the two is unique in our solar system. It is increasingly seen as a challenge to the scientific community.

This applies in particular to the composition of the Moon's surface. It consists of a layer of fine-grained sand on average about 10 metres deep.

The sand contains enormous amounts of many elements that are growing increasingly scarce on Earth, such as aluminium, iron, titanium, magnesium, calcium, silicium and oxygen in chemical compounds.

The top five centimetres of Moon dust, known as regolith, seem likely, to judge by Apollo samples, to contain about 40 billion tonnes of iron.

Assuming there to be an average 10 metres of Moon dust all over the surface of the Earth's satellite, the total amount of iron would seem to be 200 times as much again!

It is, moreover, metallic iron, not oxidised, in an alloy with an admixture of nickel and cobalt. So it would be easier to refine, and purer, than on Earth.

Professor Stoeffler, whose team works in close conjunction with Nasa, the US aeronautics and space agency, says the Americans and Russians are systematically prospecting lunar resources.

Esa, with its headquarters in Paris, also has plans along these lines. By the end of the decade Europe aims to use a larger version of the Ariane rocket to put the Polo satellite into lunar orbit.

Its brief will be to chart the surface of the Moon in accordance with chemical criteria, including the other side of the Moon, which has yet to be charted in this respect.

Both Nasa and its Soviet counterpart are busy working out in detail what shape a lunar iron and steel industry might take.

Nasa experts in Houston, Texas, feel Moon dust could with relative ease be used as a raw material for constructing housing and factory installations.

Moon dust could also, they claim, be converted without much difficulty into glass, simply by condensing it. Apollo crews brought back to Earth with them dust samples that had been transformed into little balls of glass by the impact of meteorites.

Nasa are considering the possibility of both solar and nuclear power stations for lunar use. By focussing sunlight such high temperatures could be reached that Moon dust could be melted and reduced to its individual chemical components.

If aluminium is to be smelted, however, nuclear power will be indispensable. It will also be indispensable for heating in lunar nights when temperatures fall to below minus 100 centigrade.

Research scientists are still worrying how fuel is to be produced on the Moon. Moon dust may contain a high oxygen count, but it would take complex processes to extract.

Hydrogen, the second basic ingredient of conventional rocket fuel, is also to be found, but only in small quantities originating from solar wind, which consists of hydrogen atoms.

So there would seem to be no alternative to shipping deep-frozen liquid hydrogen to lunar bases from Earth.

The Moon will have a crucial part to play as a launching pad for rockets to set up space stations in terrestrial orbit, such as industrial installations in space or solar power stations.

"If there were installations to manufacture and supply parts for such stations on the Moon," Professor Stoeffler says, "the cost of setting up stations in geostationary orbit would be only about five per cent of what it would cost if parts were supplied from Earth.

"The reason is that the Moon's force of gravity is six times less than the Earth's. So much less fuel would be needed to send equipment into geostationary orbit from the Moon than from Earth."

Engineers are already wondering how the transport costs of space flights to the Moon could be further reduced. Linear or magnetic field accelerators would need to be built to use electric power as a source of energy.

"Accelerators of this kind," the Professor says, "could take components into a lunar orbit from which they could be brought into geostationary position without much further energy input."

Electromagnetic rocket propulsion systems would naturally revolutionise space travel if, one day, the Moon were to become a launching pad for interplanetary missions.

Experts says such ideas have long ceased to be mere science fiction.

"It is merely a matter of technology and energy expenditure," Professor Stoeffler says. "But it will all be feasible. We have no doubts whatever on that score."

Heinz Günther

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 25 July 1982)

THE CINEMA

Directors join forces for War and Peace – a different war and a different peace

With so much talk about peace, film-makers cannot be expected to steer clear of the subject. Directors Alexander Kluge, Volker Schlöndorff and Helke Sander have joined forces on *Krieg und Frieden* (War and Peace).

It is not another film version of Tolstoy's novel. It is a film about here and now, with special reference to Germany.

Kluge, Schlöndorff and Fassbinder directed a similar venture, *Deutschland im Herbst*, in 1978.

It was prompted by the abduction and murder of employers' leader Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the deaths of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe at Stammheim gaol, Stuttgart, and the prospect of escalating violence in Germany.

Deutschland im Herbst was a subjective chronicle of the era illustrating with documentary footage and acted scenes what a chill, dangerous and alarming wind blew in the minds of many responsible politicians and outraged members of the public.

It was not a good film in the conventional sense, but it was undoubtedly one of the most important and impressive films made in post-war Germany, shattering and testifying to profound perplexity.

In 1980 it was followed by *Der Kandidat* (The Candidate), directed by Schlöndorff and Kluge, a film about Franz Josef Strauss, CDU/CSU candidate for Chancellor in the October 1980 general election.

Herr Strauss, chary of what was bound to be criticism in an election year, would have nothing to do with the project. So the film was less of a portrait of him than a striking illustration of the intellectual climate in Germany.

War and Peace, which is scheduled for release late this autumn, does not deal exclusively with Germany. A wider scope is doubtless more appropriate.

The production side has been handled by Filmverlag der Autoren in conjunction with Bioscop-Film and Kairos-Film. The film is being made on a modest budget of DM1m.

Much of the cash has been supplied by Hamburg publisher Rudolf Augstein, owner of *Der Spiegel*, who holds a stake in the Filmverlag der Autoren.

The film, which has only its title in common with the Tolstoy novel, will in many ways resemble *Deutschland im Herbst*, with documentary footage and acted scenes successively and in collage illuminating the wide-ranging field of problems.

Music by Gustav Mahler, Hanns Eisler and others will weld together acoustically a film that is a jigsaw puzzle of real and imaginary events.

Much of the documentary footage was shot by Kluge and Schlöndorff themselves. Schlöndorff, for instance, was at the October 1981 peace rally in Bonn.

He filmed the meeting between Helmut Schmidt and Erich Honecker, the German leaders, near East Berlin in December. He also filmed President Reagan in Paris for the Western economic summit last June.

Other footage is taken from old newsreels and film archives at home and abroad. Both the Pentagon in Washington and the Soviet Defence Ministry in Moscow have provided extremely interesting footage.

It demonstrates how the American and Russian armies would behave in the event of war, and it is arguably surprising to note that the Russian footage emphasises anxiety and love of the homeland whereas the American film emphasises technical aspects.

The two film extracts contain no classified information, so the Filmverlag der Autoren was able to get hold of them without difficulty by way of cultural exchange. The Russians are said to have been keener than the Americans.

Schlöndorff has again hired Heinrich Böll as a screenplay writer. One scene, starring Angela Winkler, who also played in *Deutschland im Herbst*, is entitled Kill Your Sister.

She is seen making her way through a gutted landscape after a nuclear holocaust to one of the few shelters where, she knows for a fact, her brother has sought refuge.

From outside the shelter she pleads with him, via the intercom, to let her in too. But he is afraid because she is contaminated and a lengthy dialogue ensues, at the end of which the brother seems to take pity on her.

The door opens but out comes not a helping hand but the barrel of a gun.

The final war has been waged in another scene written by Böll, the Nobel laureate Cologne novelist. The earth has been devastated and mankind annihilated.

All, that is, except four astronauts, two Americans and two Russians, who orbit what is left of the earth in separate space capsules.

They know there is no return and their days are numbered. In view of certain death the four men engage in Talks in Outer Space, as the scene is entitled.

Their talks are full of humanitarian feeling, of memories of what was beautiful about life on earth, of sorrow.

In a third episode Heinz Bennent plays one of two scientists who have managed just in time to find safe refuge in a shelter.

Chaos reigns above them, while in a fatalistic dialogue they visualise what it must be like as the world collapses. The idea drives them to despair.

Like Schlöndorff, Kluge has opted in his acted scenes for a concentrated, intimate theatrical form.

Despite the widespread international peace movement war and peace are not just problems for a group; they are questions everyone must pose and answer for themselves.

In the final analysis everyone dies on their own.

In, From An Infantry Viewpoint Hans-Michael Rehberg plays a general, a veteran of many campaigns, who gives an expert opinion in an interview as to what Europe will look like once it is declared a nuclear battlefield.

Kluge's second story is similar in failing to sound a note of hope. It tells the *tale of a man here and now, in a relatively* intact world, who wonders how to prepare for a nuclear war.

Ought he to fly to Spitzbergen or New Zealand? Ought he to head for somewhere optimists feel should be fairly safe? But he soon comes to realise there is no way out, no escape.

The late Rainer Werner Fassbinder wanted to contribute to *Krieg und Frieden*, just as he had to *Deutschland im Herbst*.

He planned an "archaic" scene featuring two people who were to demonstrate, in an exemplary fashion, how aggression and love, the sources of war and peace, arise and are nurtured in a relationship between man and woman.

Hanna Schygulla was to have played the woman but the idea has been abandoned now Fassbinder has died. Instead, Berlin film-maker Helke Sander has agreed to contribute a scene.

She is the director of *Männerbünde* (Leagues of Men) and *Die allseitig reduzierte Persönlichkeit* (The Universally Reduced Personality).

She plans to star Miss Schygulla in an episode featuring a handful of people and dealing with the subject of the film as she sees it.

Details of the episode she has in mind are not yet available, but we can already be sure the tale told will not be a particularly pleasant one.

So is the film's aim that of outlining a gloomy, evil and negative utopia of the end of the world coming definitely and soon? Are we to be given to understand that common sense will prove a failure and that there will be no escaping total catastrophe?

Schlöndorff and Kluge do not take so gloomy a view. "We believe in mankind," they explain, "and that at the last minute a mechanism will swing into action that ensures survival in this world and of this civilisation."

Eva-Suzanne Bayer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 July 1982)

The changing world of a single life

Thomas Brasch's second film, *Domino*, comes a year after his fascinating debut, *Engel aus Eisen* (German title: Angels of Iron), which told the tale of a 17-year-old post-war Berlin Al Capone.

Like his first, Domino is in black and white, but this time Berlin is less the symbolic scene of events than its metaphorical background.

It is a city clad in ice and snow, shining by day in a dull, milky light and by night in strong contrasts of light and dark, at times indistinct, at times sharp.

It is a city without a specific face, stylised into an anonymous locality of which the hallmark is cold.

Cameraman Konrad Kotowski aims in his indoor scenes too at strictly composed, atmospherically condensed tableaus.

The film sequences have more in common with the lines of a poem than with the sentences of a narrative. They are more like building blocks than connecting links in a structure of significant connections and arcs of tension.

At times they are strictly separate sequences that build up and trigger emotion. But the viewer is not prompted quickly to identify with the characters. Close though it may come to them, the film keeps its psychological distance.

It is a film dealing entirely with a single person. There is only one main part in the screenplay (written by director Brasch): Lisa, an extremely self-confident actress, played by Katharina Thalbach with bravura.

The film's motto is an epithet taken from Austrian novelist Robert Musil: "There is a time in life when the pace grows noticeably slower, as though it were hesitating to progress or wanted to change direction. One might be more accident-prone at such a time."

It is a film about what initially are almost imperceptible changes in a person's life, irritating encounters and experiences, increasing uncertainty and the abandonment of seemingly established habits.

There is an increasing feeling of the meaninglessness and dismemberment of consciousness, extending into a crisis of identity.

Lisa freaks out, escaping from the oppressive chill of normality into the freedom of madness, seen, one imagines, as a form of resistance.

Fassbinder took a similar view in *Despair*, but Brasch makes it absolutely clear that the specific tale of an individual crisis is of general significance and applies to both the time and the country.

Unemployment, for instance, is a recurring concept, a motif of not being needed.

The film takes place in the last 12 days of the year, the scene being set in pre-Christmas Berlin.

Lisa has just taken her daughter to the railway station and plans to spend Christmas peacefully and quietly on her own. Suddenly a man outside the station talks incoherently about psychiatric clinics, slave camps and war.

Back home, she is unable to open her own front door and has to clamber out of the window. A pretentious young writer sets himself up at her place, then she lets two prostitutes live there too.

A telegram boy claims this will be the last Christmas. Lisa sleeps with the new boyfriend of one of her girlfriends.

Lisa has a firm engagement to play Lady Macbeth, but the brilliant director Lehrter, played by Bernhard Wicki, would like to rehearse Goethe's *Stella* with her.

It is a play he directed decades beforehand with Lisa's mother in the part. He may well be her real father. When Lisa declines the offer he commits suicide.

When Lisa drops everything and leaves the theatre during a performance she too is never the same again.

These are the facts, a tale told in bare but gripping images. It is interspersed with surrealistic flashbacks and unrealistic inserts that seem somehow to be patchwork additions.

There are moments at which the film seems to move into an entirely metaphorical plane, at times as an unnecessary but meaningful metaphysical mummery.

At such moments Brasch would have done better to heed Lehrter's advice that understanding is more important than explaining, especially when the domino metaphor explains so much less (or contributes so much less to an understanding of the whole) than, say, the rosebud in *Citizen Kane*.

Christian Wimmerfeldt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 10 July 1982)



■ BIBLE RESEARCH

Digging up and putting together the old Latin version, a 70-year labour of love

A labour of love has been in progress for 70 years at Beuron Benedictine Abbey on the upper reaches of the Danube, not far from Lake Constance.

The fourth generation of researchers is patiently collecting the remaining fragments of the *Vetus Latina* (old Latin), the oldest Latin translation of the Bible.

Working with what is left of the bits of manuscript and about one million quotations from the Bible by early Christian scholars, the researchers are trying to reconstruct the old Latin versions.

The Beuron researchers point to the fact that they have accumulated more knowledge about the old Latin Bible than anyone else.

Head of the team of four, Professor Hermann Josef Frede, says: "This is the peak of top international research."

The collection, review and analysis of the until now scattered remains of the *Vetus Latina* is to provide a key for the better understanding of decisive developments in the Western world in the first centuries AD.

Vetus Latina is the collective name of the most important Bible editions that existed in the Latin-speaking world from the 2nd to the end of the 4th century.

The spreading of Christianity within the Roman Empire brought about the first translation (around the middle of the 2nd century) of the original Greek text of the New Testament and also of a Greek version of the Old Testament that had originally been written in Hebrew and Aramaic into the Latin vernacular of the time.

The Latin texts were later supplemented and "corrected" to suit the theological views of the time.

The Bible in its old Latin form was the pivotal point as Christianity increasingly dominated the political and cultural development of Western Europe. The basic dogmas such as that of the Trinity and the divine nature of Christ were based on the old Latin Bible editions.

An authorised standard translation did not come into being until the 4th century. Instead, there were many different versions that were full of inconsistencies because of copying mistakes.

The end of the old Latin era began around the year 380 when Pope Damasus I commissioned Eusebius Hieronymus (generally known as St Jerome) to make a new Latin translation from the original languages.

Legend has it that St Jerome was protected by a tame lion while working in his retreat in Bethlehem. For his task he first had to learn Greek and Hebrew.

The success of the new translation was such that the new texts became accepted throughout the Latin speaking regions and were later named *Vulgate* (the generally used). It is, however, still not known which parts of it actually stem from St Jerome.

The old Latin versions were increasingly weeded out in subsequent translation work and were gradually forgotten to the point where all that remains is fragments.

It was not until after the Middle Ages with its drive to return to the sources that interest in historical matters was revived and old parchment manuscripts were dug up from the libraries where they were gathering dust. A period of systematic sifting and analysis began.

In 1743, the French Benedictine monk Pierre Sabatier published the first comparative edition of old Latin Bible fragments. For many years to come he remained the lone pioneer of biblical "language archaeology".

Modern *Vetus Latina* research began shortly before World War I. It was ushered in by a Bavarian priest who thoroughly revised Sabatier's work on the basis of newly discovered manuscripts.

Because of the demands for scientific accuracy, the reconstruction of the *Vetus Latina* developed into a mammoth project.

It meant collecting all existing Bible manuscripts containing old Latin texts from libraries and archives in all parts of the world and comparing them.

The researchers have to go over the works of all Latin ecclesiastic writers and those who have been translated into Latin in search of Bible quotations and references to Bible passages. The fragments are eventually to be pieced together.

The researchers' everyday life appears dull at first glance and reveals nothing of the fascination of this search for a cultural heritage that has to be unearthed from under the dust of centuries.

Old manuscripts (mostly in the form of microfilm copies) have to be compared word for word and letter for letter.

There are some 200 known manuscripts (mostly in old Latin) plus many manuscripts dating up to the 13th century which, though essentially containing *Vulgate* texts, are also sprinkled with old Latin passages.

In addition, there are the Bible quotations from antiquity's literature. The time consuming work of going over all these manuscripts, extracting the quotations and systematically preparing a card index is done by assistants and is now largely completed.

The *Vetus Latina Institute* in a side wing of the Beuron Abbey now houses some 750,000 index cards with quotations. The total is expected to reach one million.

Particularly popular Bible passages like the Hymn to Christ in Paul's Epistle to the Philippians have up to 1,200 index cards because writers loved to quote them.

In such cases, the analysis of a single verse of the Bible can take weeks even once the preliminary work has been done.

Every text variation is noted and examined as to whether it is due to a simple error in writing or to a subsequent revision of the text or whether it is perhaps an independent translation.

Once every few years the Beuron researchers publish one of the envisaged 70 volumes: 1,100 copies are printed in the abbey's own printing shop and sent to researchers and specialised libraries in all parts of the world.

The edition that was started in 1949 after decades of tedious material gathering is published under the working title *Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel* (the remains of the old Latin Bible) and so far includes two books of the Old Testament and 14 New Testament Epistles.

But the reconstructed Bible cannot be read like an ordinary book. The bulk of it consists of abbreviations and figures that have to be decoded by the reader.

Apart from the Greek text for comparison, the new *Vetus Latina* also contains the main old Latin texts that are compared word for word.

The largest part of the volumes is taken up by lists and rough assessments of all departures from the text, complete with exact indications of where the fragments were found.

Paul Epistle to the Ephesians, which normally covers about 14 pages, is spread over 400 large format pages in the Beuron edition — despite a sophisticated system of abbreviations which in itself fills a 750-page volume.

When asked when the complete reconstruction of the *Vetus Latina* will be ready, the Beuron researchers are vague.

According to Professor Frede, the completion of the 35,000-page work is still in the distant future and likely to take several more decades. Only 3,300 pages have been completed so far.

Huge advantages have already been derived from the work that has been completed so far. Not only does the *Vetus Latina* research show when and where certain Bible passages were used; it also shows how the texts were changed in the course of time and the accompanying changes in the Christian religion.

Professor Rudolf Schnackenburg (Würzburg) points to a decisive merit of *Vetus Latina* research on a highly controversial point.

Many Latin Bible editions contain a small text addition in John's first Epistle, the *Comma Johanneum* which played a major role in the development of the Trinity dogma and was decreed authentic by the Vatican right into the 20 century.

Only the *Vetus Latina* research provided ultimate clarity to the effect that the *Comma Johanneum* was subsequently added to the original Bible text, says Professor Schnackenburg.

Forgeries have also been discovered by the Beuron researchers. For instance in Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians there was a passage that evidently annoyed future generations and prompted them to "harmonise it" through grammatical changes.

Convinced of the approaching end of the world, Paul wrote: "Behold, I sh... you a mystery: We shall not all sl... but we shall all be changed, in a m... ment, in the twinkling of an eye, at... last trump ..."

But several generations later, w... Paul's prophecy failed to materi... there appeared a corrected text... which the negative was changed, ... making it acceptable again to the ... logians: "We shall all sleep, but ... shall not all be changed ..."

The new forged formulation ... gave rise to speculation on various ... pes of resurrection and provided ... for interpretation of the concept of pur... gatory and hell.

Some old Latin editions conta... third version: "We shall all be resur... ted, but we shall not all be changed."

It is one of the tasks of today's ... *Latina* research to track down such ... geries and misinterpretations. In ... cases, this takes real detective work.

Some important texts were not dis... vered until it was found that the old ... mans had their own recycling proc... for manuscripts. No longer need... parchment was frequently scrap... clean of the old writing and re-used.

Modern crime detection meth... have enabled the Beuron researchers ... make the old parchment texts yield ... again. In one instance, this led to the ... discovery of old Latin texts that had ... textbook on grammar superimposed ... them.

> "One of the tasks is to track down forgeries and misinterpretations. This often takes real detective work."

Even long known manuscripts can lead to surprise discoveries. Some years ago, Professor Frede discovered an old Latin text dating from the 4th or 5th century in a parchment that was gather... ing dust at the Hungarian National Mu... seum in Budapest.

There are still plenty of such manu... scripts lying around in libraries and ar... chives, says Professor Frede.

The systematic categorising of quota... tions from old Latin writers also provi... des interesting information on how cer... tain "fixed ideas" persisted through ... centuries — frequently with disastro... consequences.

Professor Frede cites a passage fro... Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians (6, 11-... 12): "Put on the whole armour of G... that ye may be able to stand against ... wiles of the devil. For we wrestle ... against flesh and blood, but agai... principalities, against powers, agai... the rulers of the darkness of this wor... against spiritual wickedness in hi... places."

Professor Frede: "The reconstruc... *Vetus Latina* permits a clear line of ... velopment to be drawn from early the... logical interpretations of this passage ... the burning at the stake of heretics ... the Crusades.

The Beuron Abbey research wor... financially subsidised by a special fo... dation of the *Deutsche Forschungs*... *meinschaft* (DFG) that was establis... for the purpose 30 years ago.

The work of the research team ... even then (in 1952) considered so ... portant that microfilms of the en... collection of quotations were deposi... in special safe places in Indiana (US...

Continued on page 14

> "The completion of the 35,000-page work is still in the distant future and likely to take several more decades. Only 3,300 pages have been completed so far."

■ RESEARCH

Remembering or maybe forgetting

Does the knot in our handkerchief really improve our memory? Do we learn better if we know how to learn better?

Scientists at the newly-founded Max Planck Institute for Psychological Research in Munich are trying find the answers.

Their latest experiment involves 900 children aged between 8 and 15 and 130 adults aged between 45 and 70.

Supported by the Volkswagen Foundation, the project will try to establish ... how much people really know about their memory, how they use their knowledge in different situations and whether different degrees of knowledge affect learning behaviour and memory performance.

One of the main questions is whether intelligent learning depends solely on the abundance of personl knowledge and the effectiveness of individual learning strategies or whether the ability to steer one's behaviour so as to meet the respective task's demands is just as important.

The investigation programme used in the project consists of a series of learning tasks.

The test persons have to learn telephone numbers off by heart and memorise certain texts.

In the study of child behaviour, for example, texts relate to the topic of soc...

Irrespective of age, many children are proper experts on this subject, whereas others know much less.

"We can thus establish what effects specialist detailed knowledge, general knowledge about one's own memory and motivational differences exert on learning behaviour and memory performance," says Professor Franz Emanuel Weinert, Director of the Max Planck Institute in Munich.

Adults also receive texts dealing with special topics. Their material is on the ... presidential election campaign in the United States. Yet again the objective is to gain more information on what influence the content and psychological knowledge have on memory.

In addition, interest focusses on a second question: how do the test persons react to success and failure at the learning task?

To measure reactions a series of traps are included in the learning material, so as to control the success or failure in solving the problems set.

The part of the empirical research programme concentrates on systematically studying memory training.

The main aim here is not, as Professor Weinert points out, "to provide mankind with a universal remedy against memory problems with a scientific seal of approval."

The primary objective is of a more theoretical nature.

"We are attempting to find out whether behaviour and the performance in solving memory tasks can be changed by means of directly changing knowledge or motivational component."

Hasn't everyday experience already shown us that elderly persons suffer from greater memory loss?

Are such costly empirical investigations really necessary to confirm this fact? Professor Weinert emphasises that there are two phenomena involved, a fact which is often neglected:

"Whereas the weakness in memory recorded among older persons cannot be substantially compensated for by psychological aids and are basically due to cerebral decomposition, investigations have shown that the learning and memory difficulties observed among 40- to 70-year-olds can be drastically reduced by means of suitable pieces of advice, instructions or short training programmes."

Many adults apparently lack the opportunity of gathering experience in differing learning situations.

The miss out on the chance of observing the behaviour of others in solving similar problems and are thus not able to systematically compare their own performances with those of others.

Adults often work within a limited and rigid life context and the demands made on the memory are often low and one-sided.

This can result in a steady decline in the ability to readjust one's own behaviour to the changing demands of new tasks.

Project results already available reveal an additional problem in this respect:

For many adults memory performance is a "sensitive indicator for the subjective perception of growing older".

Middle-aged adults are the first to worry about losses of performance. Indeed, many talk of an unstoppable process of organic decomposition.

As Weinert states: "If someone's concentration in not primarily directed towards solving the problem but is distracted by permanent thoughts of possible failure, the probability that the feared failure may actually occur is enhanced."

This means that many of the test persons feel despondent and helpless when faced with new learning situations.

They become increasingly self-conscious and tend to become resigned to it. Scientists involved in the project are examining ways of improving the learning motivation of children and adults alike and training the memory by means of conveying suitable knowledge.

This basic psychological research thus helps extend the overall scientific insight into the function and development of the human memory.

At the same time it improves the possibilities of therapeutically treating memory problems.

The various research activities carried out by the Max Planck Institute set out to discover the ins and outs of mind, memory and motivation.

Their efforts are mainly supported by comparisons between experimental and test psychological data on children and adults of varying ages.

These investigations are supplemented by a long-term study.

The primary objective of such research in developmental psychology is to elaborate and examine theoretical models which can describe changes in thinking, memory, motivation and behaviour.

Professor Weinert adds: "We are examining the interrelationship of cognitions and motivations in human development."

The subsequent results can thus help develop more effective learning methods and improve adult education.

Horst Meermann

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 11 July 1982)

■ EDUCATION

First private university gets the green light

North Rhine-Westphalia has authorised West Germany's first private university, in the neighbouring towns of Witten and Herdecke, in the Ruhr.

The first students will take their places next year on the campus, which consists of two abandoned schools, a forsaken former vicarage and an old hostel once used to house Thyssen workers.

Private donations and money from industry form the bulk of the capital. DM15 million has so far been raised.

The aim of the university, which will eventually have 3,000 students, is to avoid turning out *Fachidioten*, those who have little knowledge of anything except their particular field.

The accent is also on the practical. Students ought to have already done something. A would-be medical student, for example, should have some nursing training or have worked in a hospital.

Knut von Oertzen, secretary of the Herdecke University Association, said students "ought to have shifted something" before enrolling. "They ought to know what a shovel, a brush or a trowel is."

Beginning in autumn, those wishing to become students of medicine, Middle Eastern studies and philosophy will be putting their backs into renovation and conversion work to build their own lecture halls and library rooms.

Despite the fact that the outward appearance of Herdecke is not as shiny as

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the ultramodern state universities, there is no lack of volunteers.

Professors are just as keen as the students to get involved and they hope to be able to start lectures in the summer or winter semester next year.

All aspirants are quite willing to get hold of a bricklayer's trowel if it might help get them get a place.

What at first glance seems like a return to the conditions of the immediate post-war years where students and professors alike had to be satisfied with what was available is not just a result of poor financial backing. The university was planned that way.

The founders talk about "practical orientation".

This practical involvement may well tip fortune when the decision is taken on places.

The Herdecke model has no time for the notorious average marks system for admittance, which is common practice at state universities.

Those wishing to study medicine, for example (at present about 3,000) will stand a better chance if they have either already done training in nursing or have worked for a while in a hospital or similar institution.

The same applies to students of philosophy or Middle Eastern studies, although for these subjects previous job experience doesn't have to be linked to future occupation.

The main thing is that the student has done "something constructive". In the case of Middle Eastern studies, says Oertzen, it might be working as a motor mechanic in Iran or as a ricegrower in Thailand.

Specialist cranks are not wanted. Emphasis will be placed on the more practically-oriented, all-round academic, who is able to see beyond the end of his own nose.

The students in Herdecke/Witten are expected to speedily obtain certificates in their subjects and not slacken off on the way towards their final exams.

In addition, they will have to complete a *Studium fundamentale*, in which, for example, they must become highly proficient in at least two foreign languages.

The founders of this first private university, who are actively trying to break away from the usual concepts of traditional universities, belong to a small circle of anthroposophically-minded medics.

They first got together in 1951, adopting "social reforms" as their motto, hoping to make "revolution unnecessary".

They were of the opinion that the restoration of medicine just wasn't enough.

More was needed to fulfil the tasks demanded by the future.

A new social order should take over from the old hierarchical structures in order to cure the ailing hospital system. In line with the motto: "Carrying out a function is not just a matter of holding rank and office. Responsibility is needed," they developed a model based on a cooperative system which removed the common hierarchy personified by the senior consultant and the matron, and replaced it by team work and a more cooperative working relationship.

In autumn 1969 they put their ideas into practise in the Herdecke hospital. Then it was a minute, totally unknown provincial hospital; today it is known throughout Europe and has become a veritable Mecca of the medical world, now accommodating 500 beds.

The reforming zeal shown by the doctors working under the neurologist Dr Konrad Schily and the pharmacologist Dr Gerhard Kienle soon met with certain limits.

The new generation of doctors had been educated in state universities along different lines.

It took years for the plans for the new private university to take shape. A corresponding application was made in the spring directed towards the state government in North Rhine-Westphalia.

The cabinet could hardly take the idea of somebody wanting to set up a private university at a time in which the cost of building alone goes into the hundreds of millions of deutschemark as a really serious project.

Apart from this the adventurous scheme was not backed by any economic interest groups or religiously motivated organisations.

The man behind the idea, Dr Schily, was in fact one of the first to self-ironically refer to a "mad concept of a mad German," a comment supported by ministers in Düsseldorf, North Rhine-Westphalia's state capital, this time however without the irony.

The project was to and freed for a

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■ SOCIETY

Rape, the crime where the innocent are forced to bear the burden of guilt

Women who have been raped still face a lot of prejudice.

They suffer both mental and physical harm and are even sometimes shunned and despised. Men friends often show no understanding; neither do the police or the public prosecutor.

These are some of the conclusions reached by Munich sociologist Kurt Weis in a study of Rape and Its Victims.

What distinguishes rape from other crimes, Professor Weis notes, is that the victim is forced to take part.

That is why it is a suitable subject for a survey dealing primarily with the victim and the victim's point of view.

What mainly interests him about the

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rapist is the sequence of decisions reached, from the offence to the court hearings.

He set about this part of his survey in three ways. First he tested public opinion.

Then he interviewed some victims on the phone; they were asked to ring him voluntarily and anonymously.

Finally he analysed court proceedings in rape cases, every case prosecuted in the Saar over two and a half years.

An analysis of German-language literature on the subject rounded off the study, which was backed by the Scientific Research Association. Its findings have just been published.

In the initial poll, people were given imaginary cases to consider and asked whether they thought, on the evidence presented, that rape was involved.

Was rape a serious offence in any case, or just a petty offence? Ought it to be punished? Should the rapist be taken to court or ought the woman and the man to settle matters between themselves?

Under what circumstances should criminal proceedings go ahead?

Professor Weis tried to establish what factors influenced attitudes toward rape. Was there a certain type of man or woman who felt rape was harmless or tended to react extremely sensitively to the problem?

He discovered that certain categories of person do tend to regard a contested case as probably not a genuine case of rape, or at least imply that the woman would have been partly to blame.

The people who believe this are in favour of law and order and the use of force generally. They have inflexible attitudes toward sexuality and are hostile toward women.

Oddly enough, women take a sterner view of the behaviour of rape victims than men do. Women are also readier to excuse or at least to show understanding of the rapist's behaviour.

Professor Weis says this curious phenomenon is because women generally have accepted more readily than men the widespread view that men are the way they are, that certain patterns of behaviour come naturally to them.

This may be a myth, but women still seem to accept it.

He was overwhelmed with phone calls when it was announced that rape victims could discuss their case anonymously with a research worker by dialling a certain number.

Many said it was the first opportunity they had had, often years after the event, to talk freely about their experience. There seems to be a wall of silence surrounding victims. They feel they are not allowed to tell.

Many people fail to appreciate, he says, how difficult it can be for many women to talk about their rape with anyone, even a close personal friend.

Victims often suffer long, on occasion lifelong, mental strain, resulting in pathological compulsions and anxieties, in sexual upsets, serious trouble in making contact with others, conflict with sexual partners and at times hatred of the entire male sex.

This, at any rate, is the conclusion Professor Weis reaches from his interviews with women affected. Even marital partners often show lack of understanding.

"He wouldn't have believed it," one woman said of her husband. "I reckon he would have said: 'That can't be true, you can't rape a woman.'"

For women who did tell their husband or men friends about the rape and found they were right in deciding to do so, the help given was extremely important and greatly relieved their burden.

A rape victim who expects not understanding but discrimination will try to keep the rape a secret, especia[lly if] the rapist is a friend or relation.

Women are often particularly tru[sting] and enjoy a relationship of confid[ence] with friends and relations, but the r[apist] is as likely to be such a person as [he is] to be a complete stranger.

Yet women usually prefer not to [take] the rapist to court if they know [him] and often when they don't.

It is extremely unusual for a wo[man] to decide against taking the offend[er to] court because she feels somehow g[uilty]. She is more often ashamed and af[raid] of people getting to know abou[t the] case.

A reason often given is that vic[tims] have little confidence in the beha[viour] shown by the police. They feel no[body] will believe their version of the [...] and the offender will not be punis[hed].

Victims even prefer not to take [the ra]pist to court in many cases because [they] feel sorry for him because the cas[e would] ruin his career or whatever.

In telephone interviews the p[olice] came in for serious criticism. "[The] police," Professor Weis says, "are u[nder a] legal obligation to deal with every c[om]plaint in connection with a criminal [of]fence.

"But they often or at least in part [fol]low their own assessment of the case [ra]ther than the letter of the law and [...] to take the view that the offence is [...] a minor one."

This is how he sees a problem th[at is] a serious one for rape victims in [...] respects.

Some callers said they had been tr[ea]ted fairly at the police station, but m[any] said they had had to press their po[int] before they were even taken seriously.

Many victims levelled serious alle[ga]tions at the police. One woman said [...] interrogation was much *worse than* [the] rape. It was so humiliating. The police worked on the assumption that a wom[an] was lying.

In court women tend to feel they a[re] mistrusted, disbelieved and subject [to] the prurience of the bench. They fe[el] there is little understanding for their [si]tuation.

Rape victims are thus often victim[is]ed a second time, as the victims of pre[judice], inability and unwillingness [to] understand. *deutscher forschungsdie[nst]*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Ze[itung] für Deutschland, 24 July 19[82])

Latin Bible

Continued from page 12

and in Switzerland to prevent the material from being lost or damaged in case of war.

Today, DFG pays the salaries of the four main researchers. Beuron Abbey also provides support along with the Catholic Bishops Conference and some provincial protestant churches. Private donations also help to provide the DM500,000 annual budget of the institute.

Considering the top level research work that is being done in Beuron, this is an extremely thin financial cushion — especially considering the fact that donations largely depend on the overall economic situation. What makes the donations even more fickle is the fact that this type of research holds no promise of financial gain. The profit to be derived from it — more light shed on our own history is not measurable in terms of money.

Johannes Schellenkönig

(Die Zeit, 16 July 1982)

No Fachidioten

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whole year and it won't cost the State a penny.

Many members of the ruling SPD in North Rhine-Westphalia found it difficult to digest the idea of a private university in their state.

Many were afraid that the virtual monopoly of the state in this field would take a hard knock if this were to become the accepted thing.

And then, of course, there is the problem of "elitism," which is a widely unacceptable word.

However, the go-ahead has been given. The most ardent opponents were to be found in the ranks of the SPD.

Labour Minister Friedhelm Farthmann in an arrogant and derisive tone referred to the university as a "small-time theatre."

But the SPD-run state government overcame the opposition and bore witness to the principle of liberality.

North Rhine-Westphalia's Education Minister Hans Schwier just hopes "that the Moonies don't try to get in on the act."

Hasso Ziegler

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 17 July 1982)

Vandalism and violence on the increase in schools

Vandalism and violence are growing in German schools. Some blame the parents, others blame the schools.

Vandalism in Hamburg schools cost DM14 million between 1970 and 1980.

According to 1979 figures, damage to Hamburg schools averaged DM22.14 per pupil at special schools (schools for problem children); DM18.73 per pupil at elementary and secondary schools; and DM10.73 per head at gymnasiums (leading to university).

Reports of damage and assaults are endless: in Berlin, 120 pupils were beaten up in 1979.

Teachers and students at a Bonn secondary school have formed a vigilante brigade to try and control the excesses.

The Bavarian Education Department says children in the big cities are particularly aggressive. Violence and vandalism in the big cities in three times the national average, it says.

A Hamburg educationalist, Professor Walter Bärsch, blames the parents. He says they are too ready to forgive their children.

Another argument is that the huge "education factory buildings" in schools create a feeling of helplessness in pupils

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which eventually shows itself in aggression.

One suggestion is that there are so many new types of school that feelings of belonging and of personal responsibility have become abstract values.

There is often little that teachers can do to offending pupils. In one case, in North Rhine-Westphalia, the Department of Education has even banned essays being handed out as punishment.

A tricky question is: Who has to pay for the damage?

Most offenders are not caught, so the state can't claim compensation. Where he is caught, the parents cannot be held responsible.

A legal opinion by Eiselt/Hel[...] says: "Whenever school propert[y is] damaged, the liable party is the pu[pil] rather than his parents because [the] parent's supervision duty ends wh[ere] that of the school starts."

That means that claims by scho[ols] must fail because pupils have no mo[ney] and are, in any case, too young and th[e]refore legally untouchable.

Even in cases of assault, the par[ents] cannot be held responsible.

According to a Federal Court ru[ling] the consequences of a punch-u[p at] school must legally be viewed as [the] consequences of an accident and [are] thus covered by insurance.

Hans Rüdiger Kah[...]
Herbert Schütte, Peter Schm[...]
Lothar Schmidt-Mühle[...]

(Die Welt, 8 July 1[982])

■ SPORT

Tears for the stylists: World Cup shows that cash can't buy quality

[Wh]en there was still hope . . . Breitner [(left)] and the German manager, Derwall.
(Photo: Werek)

Italy beat West Germany 3-1 in the final to win the 1982 World soccer cup in Spain. Gerhard Seehase, of Die Zeit, looks behind the statistics.

[If a] team is to have a crisis during the World Cup, it had better be at the beginning.

[It] has *one big advantage: opposing [te]ams tend to underestimate the after [effe]cts of wounded arrogance.*

[I]n this year's competition proper in [Spa]in, that happened to both finalists, [Ita]ly, the winner, and West Germany.

West Germany was beaten in its first [ma]tch by the lowly ranked Algeria. Ita[ly] could only draw three times in its [fir]st three matches.

Despite every football manager's [yea]rning for tactical order, the game re[ma]ins a bit of a mystery. And it's just as [we]ll. Otherwise the Germans would not [hav]e reached the final.

As it was, Italy and West Germany [lear]nt a great deal about themselves [dur]ing the tournament so that when op[port]unity knocked a second time, they [were] quick to take advantage of it.

[T]he Germans jumped off their high [hor]se, realising that soccer is all about [us]ing the feet.

The Italians came to believe in the [adv]antages of attacking. They out[pla]yed the Argentinians and the Brazi[lians] at their own game and dispelled [the m]yth that defensive play is essential [to t]he Italian game.

[Att]ack was the key to success. In the [end], the Germans just couldn't keep [up w]ith either the the intelligent play [or t]he pace of the Italians.

[N]ow the flags have been rolled up, [the w]orld champions have taken their [trium]ph back home, the Germans their [disa]ppointment.

[A]s a World Cup, this year's doesn't [come] off too well.

There were not many really good ga[mes]. The final was dramatic, of course, [but i]t was matched by 120 minutes of [dr]ama in the semi-final when West [Germ]any beat France after a penalty [comp]etition.

[The] Spaniards also handed out a [ner]ve-wracking performance in their [mat]ch against England. A nil-nil draw enabled West Germany to go through to the semi-finals.

But these were matches of drama because of what hung on them.

Every match played by the Brazilians, on the other hand, was a work of sporting art. Yet they couldn't reach the semi-finals. They were beaten by Italy.

The French, called by some "the Brazilians of Europe" because of their elegance, could not take the barriers of concrete built by the Germans.

In the case of both Brazil and France, it was a matter of technically better teams coming off worst against more aggressive opponents.

Is that a verdict against modern soccer? The answer is just not that easy. Because the Italians were also the craftier against Brazil and the German ball skills came alight after their fighting spirit was re-ignited.

Was the soccer of Spain any better than in Argentina four years ago? No. This year's cup showed that the game hasn't advanced an inch.

Many experts point to an ever-increasing trend towards playing intelligence. They were proved wrong in Spain.

What was new about this World Cup? "In sporting terms, nothing," says Günter Netzer, a member of some notable German teams a decade ago.

He was one of those who saw in Spain a brand of the game that apparently can exist without towering figures.

There were the "directors" of course, those who put the pattern on the game: Platini of France, for example; Zico of Brazil; Ardiles of Argentina; and Antognoni of Italy.

But in Spain they weren't able to make their mark. Antognoni wasn't able to play against Germany in the final, but that didn't stop Italy from winning in style.

West Germany also had a shortage of key players. Paul Breitner, one of the hardest workers in the side, wasn't.

Neither was Felix Magath, a man of considerable technical skill. He might have been, but he sat on the reserves bench most of the time.

Indeed he was overshadowed by a more aggressive type of player such as Hans-Peter Briegel. It was clear that the German team went for physical prowess rather than technical skill. Despite the vast sums of money paid for stars like Maradona (the transfer sum for this Argentinian to FC Barcelona is put at DM19 million), big personalities were missing. Sepp Herberger, manager of the German World Cup winners in 1954, could never have achieved this feat without a man like Fritz Walter to put ideas into practice. Helmut Schön could never have led his German team to the World Cup victory in 1974 had there not been a Beckenbauer, a playing genius, supplying the ideas in sweeper position.

The World Cup tournament in Spain showed us one thing: soccer has become poorer, and the huge sums of money paid for its star players cannot enrich the standard.

Another symptom of international soccer today is that the players are turned into stars by the media. Many players do not deserve the treatment. In terms of his performance in Spain, Maradona, just wasn't worth the money.

The German stars of this World Cup showed more physical than graceful qualities, but manager, Jupp Derwall, made the best of his team.

The fighting type of player was preferred to those with greater technique. Bernd Förster instead of Felix Magath. Success proved Derwall to have made the correct decision, although this just wasn't enough to beat the rejuvenated Italians.

Spain underlined another fact of soccer life: not only were the big personalities missing on the soccer pitch but the managers weren't exactly full of talent either.

This applies to both Derwall and Italy's Enzo Bearzot.

If they had taken their jobs really seriously, they would have avoided the dismal early displays by both teams.

The first round was a sorry performance by a presumptiously arrogant German team, acting as if it had already won the Cup. To blame? The manager.

From the Italian point of view: the highly-rated professionals of the *Squadra Azzurra* stumbled around the playing field as if they were shackled by tactical chains. They managed only three draws in the opening rounds. To blame? The manager.

Just when it looked as if both teams had missed the boat, both trainers pulled their socks up. Derwall pinned his hopes on his side's fighting spirit, whereas Bearzot went for attack. The cleverer man won in the end.

There was a huge difference between the first and the second final round. The Germans and the Italians reflected this.

A big mistake was to think that the clashes between the more favoured teams would automatically lead to the best games.

The most boring games during the first final round were precisely those in which the allegedly big teams played against each other: West Germany against Austria, Italy and Poland, Yugoslavia and Spain.

The greatest sensation was caused by the underdogs, Cameroon, Algeria, Honduras, Kuwait.

Not because they had suddenly matured overnight, but because Europe's soccer nations looked upon them, arrogantly, as lesser lights.

Before the Cup, many expected the players from Cameroon to have thin legs, big feet and a childish nature.

> What was new about this World Cup? In sporting terms, nothing, said Günter Netzer . . . the game hasn't advanced an inch since Argentina four years ago.

Yet they brought the Italians to the brink of defeat during the first final round (1:1).

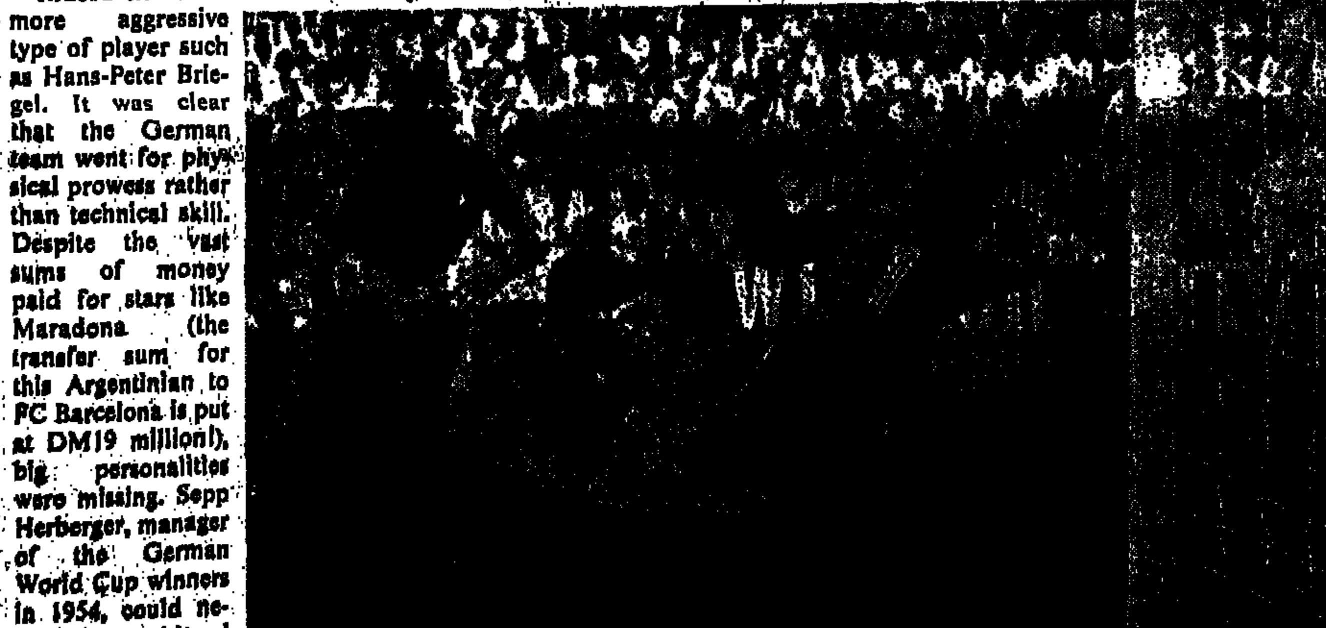
Spain confirmed the verdict passed in Argentina four years ago: the so-called classic soccer nations in Europe and South America haven't learnt a great deal.

The two teams that reached the final, rising phoenix-like from the ashes of disappointment, took long enough to realise that their fans are not just interested in the right result, but in good soccer.

The flags have been rolled up. The same flags in which the aesthetes, who prefer to see soccer in Brazilian and French style, had dried their tears a few games earlier.

Gerhard Seehase

(Die Zeit, 16 July 1982)



A magic moment for Italy. Rossi (centre) puts Italy ahead 1-0 in the World Cup final against West Germany in Madrid with a header past Schumacher. It was Rossi's sixth goal of the cup. At left is Cabrini. Italy went on to win 3-1. (Photo: dpa)